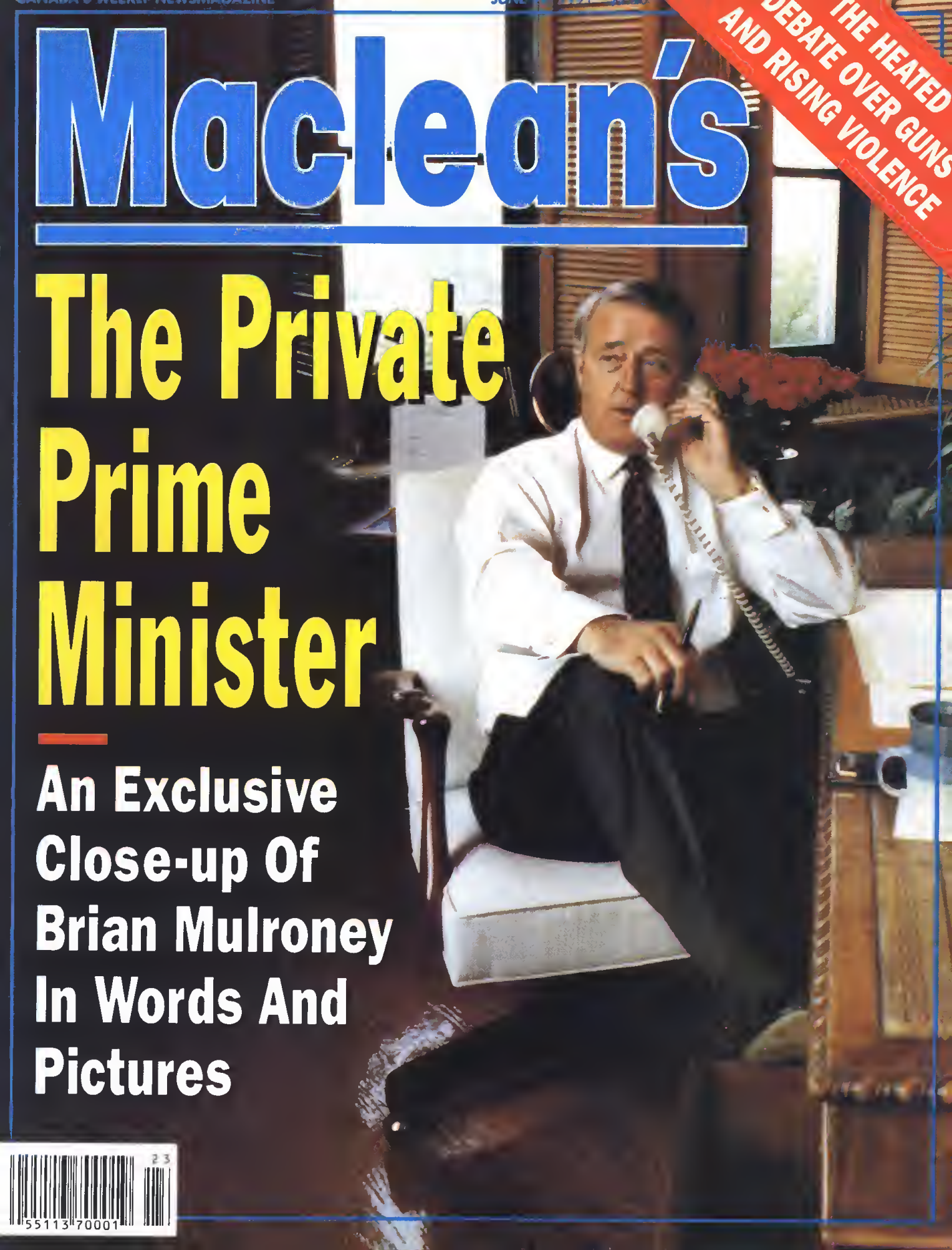
CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JUNE

Maclean's

THE HEATED DEBATE OVER GUNS AND RISING VIOLENCE

The Private Prime Minister

An Exclusive Close-up Of Brian Mulroney In Words And Pictures



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JUNE 10, 1991 VOL 104 NO 23

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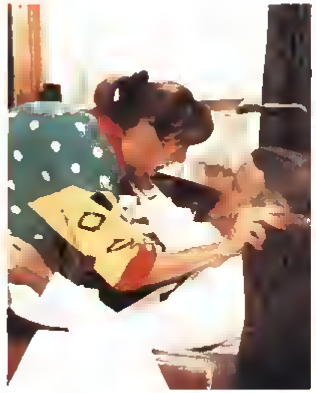
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COVER PHOTO BY PETER BREGG/MACLEAN'S

COVER

THE PRIVATE PRIME MINISTER

He may be the most vilified prime minister in Canadian history, but Brian Mulroney has arguably changed the country more profoundly than most of his predecessors. With an exclusive interview and photo essay of a day in the Prime Minister's life, Maclean's presents an intimate portrait of Mulroney as husband to his wife, Mila, father and political leader in the eye of the storm. — 14

CANADA

VIOLENCE IN THE LAND

As a bloody wave of crime swept across the nation, Justice Minister Kim Campbell introduced new gun-control legislation aimed at keeping firearms out of the hands of criminals while allowing hunters, sportsmen and gun collectors to pursue their hobbies with minimal government interference. — 12





MEDICINE

'ZERO TOLERANCE'

A task force set up by the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario last week reported that about 10 per cent of the province's doctors may take sexual advantage of their patients. The group, headed by lawyer Marilou McPhedran, recommended heavy fines and lifetime suspension as penalties. — 46

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An Intimate Portrait

In his 22 years as a professional photographer, *Maclean's* Photo Editor Peter Bregg has snapped his share of attention-grabbing news shots, among them Pierre Trudeau in 1968 pretending to hang himself with his own necktie at the National Press Club in Ottawa, and then-President Gerald Ford's famous stumble in 1975 while walking down the steps of Air Force One in Salzburg, Austria.

But Bregg, whose assignments with The Canadian Press, The Associated Press and *Maclean's* have taken him to 55 countries, also has a brimming portfolio of striking photo essays. Added to that are the 25 pictures that grace this week's exclusive behind-the-scenes portrait of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Starting with family breakfast at 24 Sussex Drive and ending on Parliament Hill shortly before 9 p.m., Bregg spent 13 hours photographing Mulroney with his family, colleagues and adversaries. "The pictures are rare," Bregg notes, "because most were taken in areas where media cameras are usually forbidden, such as 24 Sussex, the Conservative caucus meeting and their Commons lobby."



MCCARTHY/MO

Bregg with Mulroney at 24 Sussex: most photos were taken where media cameras are banned

After the photo session, Mulroney granted Ottawa Bureau Chief Anthony Wilson-Smith a 45-minute interview, in which he talked candidly about how he is bearing up under the strains of office. After several interviews with close Mulroney associates to flesh out the portrait, Wilson-Smith says he learned that "several of his friends have told Mulroney that he is too stiff in public, and should just be himself. But his present public persona reflects Mulroney's image of how he thinks a prime minister should behave."

As Bregg discovered, Mulroney was anything but stiff in private. Having worked briefly as official photographer for Mulroney's office in 1984-1985, Bregg said: "I found him even friendlier and more relaxed than when I left."

Kevin Doyle

Maclean's
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THANK GOD SHE LEFT THE LIGHT ON

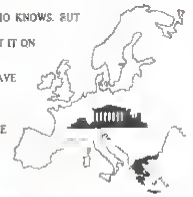


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LETTERS

POLITICAL SEXISM

I find the "politically correct" movement dangerous ("The silencers," Cover, May 27). Yes, I believe that the present state of African blacks is unfortunate and largely caused by European colonialism and exploitation. However, I am appalled that some activists would like to restrict traditional university course material merely because the subject is controversial. I will continue to read Shakespeare, Mark Twain and Dr. Doolittle regardless, and teach my children to appreciate them for what they are—literary achievements of their time. And I will take them to see the works of Canadian painter Alex Colville. Political correctness has its own particular forms of racism and sexism.

Julie Kozma
Montreal

In your three quite interesting articles on the demand for politically correct behavior, you quote five women and 33 men, most of them white, middle-class and, probably, heterosexual. That kind of biased unbalance is definitely not appropriate and, in fact, reflects a certain ignorance of who is who in Canada and the United States.

Marguerite Andersen,
Toronto

Bravo for your articles about political correctness. As a secondary-school teacher, I am more and more concerned with the inability of many young people to form an idea or opinion for themselves. Fortunately, it no longer seems to matter. The new generation of politically correct professors will be happy to tell them *what* to think. I weep for our society's future. We shall soon be at the mercy of the demagogues.

Kenneth Stephen,
Elliot Lake, Ont.

I am far from a radical feminist, yet I remember reading *Paradise Lost* and similar so-called great works of literature and wondering whether, given their hostility towards women, it was worthwhile being a woman at all. You need only read the headlines about family violence to know that things have not changed as much as we would like to think. Before blasting away at the symptoms, why can't *Maclean's* think about treating the disease?

Millicent Toombs,
Ottawa

Your stories on political correctness should be read by every elected politician. Our political leaders seem to forget that their most vocal constituents are not necessarily the majority.

L. G. Huck,
Victoria



MICHAEL CREASEN

Colville: politically incorrect

THE RIGHT—OR LEFT—STUFF

Barbara Amiel's mutated analysis of the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. just does not wash ("In defence of Crispo, Fecan *and* the CBC," Column, April 29). Anyone who watched its extended coverage of the Meech Lake debacle could only conclude that the network exhibited a consistent and often embarrassing pro-Conservative bias in its news and public affairs programming.

Chris Bradshaw,
Parksville, B.C.

There has to be a balance of right and left views in the media, and I consider it a duty of the CBC to put itself in the middle. Someone has to counterbalance the rightist bias of a majority of privately owned, self-proclaimed "neutral and transparent" media. Maybe the solution for Amiel is to accept the truth: all media, including *Maclean's*, speak from some point of view.

Nicolas Belpaire,
Montreal

Barbara Amiel implores the CBC to "stop selecting the most idiotic representatives of right-wing views in order to pretend that they are giving balanced programming." What a shame if they should comply: the prospect of never seeing her appear on *The Journal* is a greater sorrow than I can bear.

Stephen J. Rushford,
Peterborough, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean Hunter Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

PASSAGES



DIED: Veteran Canadian journalist **John Clare**, 81, in a Toronto hospital after a series of strokes. Clare began his career in the early 1930s at his home-town newspaper, the Saskatoon *Star-Phoenix*. Later, he reported for the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, and went on to become a Second World War correspondent for the *Globe* and *The Toronto Star*. In 1946, Clare joined *Maclean's*, and was managing editor from 1949 to 1952. He continued to write for *Maclean's* off and on throughout his career. From 1952 to 1956, Clare was editor of *Chatelaine* and rejoined the *Star* as editor of its now-defunct magazine, *The Star Weekly*, from 1959 to 1967. He also published short stories and two novels.

PLEADED: Not guilty to sexual battery (Florida's term for rape), a felony, and a misdemeanor count of battery, **William Kennedy Smith**, 30, in Palm Beach. The case, which has attracted international attention because Smith is a nephew of Senator **Edward Kennedy**, will go to jury trial on Aug. 5. Smith has also been ordered to take an AIDS test.

DIED: Cartoonist **Ed Dodd**, 88, in a Gainesville, Ga., hospital. Dodd created the conservationist, still-syndicated comic strip *Mark Trail* in 1944, and drew it until **Jack Elrod** took over in 1981.

AWARDED: An undisclosed amount of money to **Elizabeth Taylor**, 59, in an out-of-court agreement with the *National Enquirer*. Taylor had sued the tabloid for libel following two 1990 stories alleging that she had been drinking heavily and was suffering from a "killer disease." In return for dropping the $23-million suit, Taylor also received an apology.

CONVICTED: **Joan Kennedy**, 55, of impaired driving, and ordered to seek treatment for alcoholism. Police arrested Senator **Edward Kennedy**'s ex-wife on May 14 after she swerved across three lanes of a Boston expressway.

DIED: Former journalist **Harvey Southam**, 43, a onetime director of media giant Southam Inc., of undisclosed causes, in Toronto. Southam was senior vice-president at Southam Business Communications, involved in business publications, electronic publishing and trade shows.

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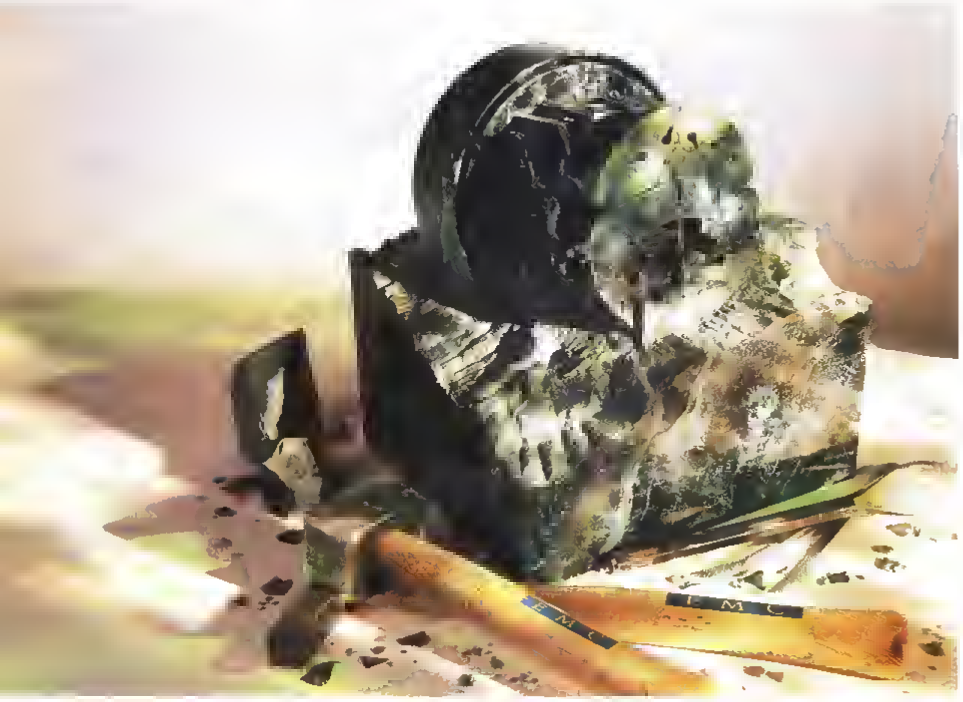
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Maclean's is published weekly by Maclean Hunter Canadian Publishing

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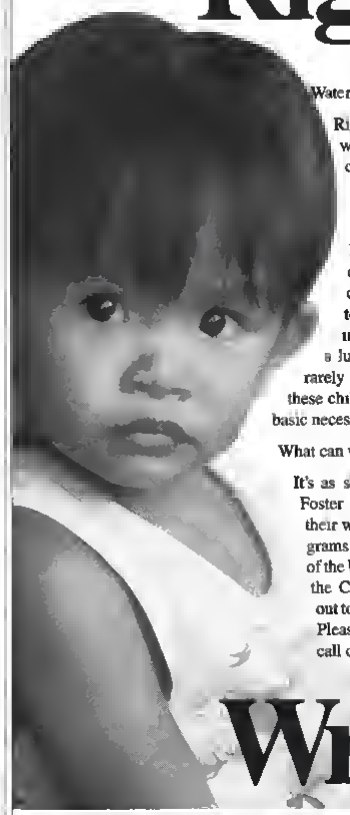
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OPENING NOTES

Schwarzkopf enters a new battle, a reporter keeps one secret in Ottawa, and Dartmouth gets a philosopher

THE AFRICAN CONNECTION

In the past year, CBC television's *The Journal* has enjoyed regular access to African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. Thanks in part to the intercession of *Journal* producer Jane Lipman, whose mother, Zeeta, is a friend of the Mandelas', Barbara Frum was one of the first journalists to interview Mandela after his release from prison in February, 1990. And last June, during his Canadian visit, the CBC secured the only English-language TV interview while he was here. Then, last month, *The Journal* aired a 20-minute documentary about Mandela's controversial wife, Winnie. Its writer, producer and narrator was Zeeta Lipman, who, according to Joan Fubbs, deputy chairman for the PWV region of the ANC's Women's League in Johannesburg, is an active member of the ANC. Said Fubbs: "I have found her enthusiastic, conscientious and dedicated to the movement." But when *Maclean's* contacted Lipman last month, she denied that she was a member of the ANC. Mark Starowicz, *The Journal*'s executive producer, also said that Lipman was not a member. Last week, however, *Maclean's* obtained a copy of a list of the league's PWV branch executive and Lipman's name appears on it as chairman. When *Maclean's* contacted her again last week, she declined to comment. But the next day, Fubbs said, Lipman resigned from her position. A spokesman for Starowicz said that the producer had nothing to add to his earlier statement.



Mandela, a documentary subject

The sweet, sweet taste of revenge

Newfoundland-born writer Richard Trask says that when he moved to Toronto in 1964, he immediately felt the sting of countless "Newfie jokes." But now, Trask is giving Torontonians a taste of their own medicine. His self-published book, entitled *Tronna Roast I*, makes what he refers to as "Tronnies" the butt of more than 500 jokes. Said Trask, who now lives in Port Sydney, Ont.: "Tronnies have a snotty attitude. I'd like to educate them to laugh at themselves." A sample joke from the 144-page book: "What do the Toronto Maple Leafs and whales have in common?" Answer: "Both get confused when surrounded by ice." According to Trask, *Tronna Roast I* has already sold 30,000 copies, mostly in the Atlantic provinces and especially in Newfoundland. Trask says that he is already working on a sequel, to be called *Loose Leaf Maple Laffs*, which he plans to release this summer. Meanwhile, he has even come up with a "Tronnie doll": a turkey with a big mouth. Said Trask: "There is a market for these products." And an exceedingly lucrative market at that.



Trask: Torontonians' 'snotty attitude'

FEUDIN' AND FIGHTIN'

As victims of gruesome murders in 1880, the five so-called Black Donnellys of Lucan, Ont., near London, are a Canadian legend. Now, William Ryder, a descendant of two of the six men accused but never convicted of killing the family, wants to set up a museum in the Donnellys' honor. But some residents would prefer to forget the Irish family's acrimonious history. Said Lucan Reeve Larry Hotson: "Feelings run pretty deep on it. It upsets people who had ancestors involved." Countered Ryder: "It's an incredible story. And it's a Canadian story."

A TALE OF TWO CITIES

Despite lingering problems in the Middle East, the mood of national self-congratulation in the United States following the Gulf War is reaching a fever pitch. Both Washington and New York City are preparing to hold massive Desert Storm victory parades this month. And in keeping with the combative spirit that they plan to celebrate, organizers in each city claim theirs will be the superior celebration. Washington's parade is set for June 8, two days before New York's. Both share some key ingredients, including a $9-million budget, the appearance of Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf and displays of the Patriot missile system. But that has not stopped the one-upmanship. Said Washington speech writer Landon Parvin: "We may lose more soldiers to muggers in New York than we did to the Iraqis." Countered the acerbic New York *Newsday* columnist Jimmy Breslin about Washington: "The little town doesn't have Broadway and ticker tape." And New York Mayor David Dinkins got into the act as well, pledging that his city would host "the mother of all parades."



Schwarzkopf: two appearances

***Patriot* fever**



More than a half-baked idea

A vending machine that dispenses french fries is the latest fast-food innovation to hit the Los Angeles area. The machine, which yields 33 fries for $1.15, is the brainchild of William Bartfield, an accountant from Palm Springs. But the appetites of even die-hard junk-food junkies may be dampened by the reality that the fries are made from pellets of pulverized potato, which expand on contact with water into a fryable potato dough that is then shaped into fries. Still, Bartfield hopes to produce 30,000 machines, each spewing out 100 servings a day. No small potatoes.

Counter-attack

The usually secretive, California-based Church of Scientology launched a massive ad campaign to discredit *Time* last week after the newsmagazine published a stinging May 6 cover story, based on a seven-month investigation, calling the church "the cult of greed." But according to Scientology president Heber Jentzsch, the ads are just the beginning. The full-page ads, which have appeared daily in *USA Today*, question the integrity and accuracy of the magazine. They show pre-Second World War *Time* covers and accuse the magazine of sympathetic appraisals of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. The ads then ask: "What magazine gets it wrong in 1991?" But Jentzsch told *Maclean's* that the ads are simply an opening salvo in a campaign that will include a special advertising supplement in the June 14 issue of *USA Today* that also will criticize *Time*. Jentzsch also said that the church may live up to its litigious reputation by launching a lawsuit against *Time*. Said Jentzsch: "Nothing has been ruled out. They have sent out their Scuds, we have our Patriot missiles." For the moment, *Time* magazine appears to be unfazed by Scientology's manoeuvres. Said Robert Pondiscio, *Time*'s news manager: "*Time* stands by its article. We are content to have the public make up their own minds."



Jentzsch: lawsuit?

AVERTING A DISASTER

Terrance Wills, Ottawa bureau chief for Southam Inc.'s Montreal *Gazette*, saved the day for Southam News and *The Toronto Star* last week. Wills and 14 other journalists gathered at a top-secret meeting in Ottawa to discuss the results of their $100,000 Angus Reid poll on national unity. As the group waited for a courier to deliver extra copies of the survey, Wills happened to wander into the next room where press releases are distributed. To his horror, an office clerk was about to distribute the confidential poll results to the entire press gallery. Said Wills, who promptly scooped up the extra reports and delivered them to his bosses: "A lot of people were wiping their brows after that one."

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

Dartmouth, N.S., is taking a thoughtful approach to civic affairs. Last month, Mayor John Savage appointed Peter March, a professor at St. Mary's University, as the city's official philosopher laureate. Savage offered March the honorary position—the first of its kind in Canada, the mayor said—after hearing him debate civic issues at several public forums earlier this year. Said Savage: "He is not content to sit in an ivory tower—he prefers to be among the people in the marketplace, the malls and the waterfront." And March says that he is eager to take up his new post—even if it is unpaid. He plans to offer Dartmouth residents a "working person's" perspective on economics, justice and politics. Said March, who will continue teaching: "There seems to be a fear among the public and politicians of being accused of being thoughtful in this country."



March: 'fear in this country'



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Playing politics with political correctness

BY FRED BRUNING

President Bush fears the nation is jeopardized by political correctness, which he associates with slavish adherence to trendy causes like civil rights, racial harmony and respect for minority opinion. But the chief executive worries needlessly. As leading indicators demonstrate, the status quo is assured. Americans long at a disadvantage remain properly mired. Liberalism continues in retreat. Military fervor is on the rise. Somewhere, there is a Willie Horton waiting to be discovered in time for Campaign '92.

Politically correct? Being politically correct has nothing to do with stifling debate on campuses—about as likely as stifling undergraduate beer consumption, by the way—but with a sort of social hardening that is taking place. President Bush can conjure Disneyland skies brilliant with the light of our good works, but that is just the stuff of speech writers and publicity agents. In fact, we are heading in the opposite direction. "You people are garbage!" yelled the woman at a small peace contingent standing vigil at a Persian Gulf victory parade. "You go to hell!" As anyone who has observed America over the past six months can attest, the woman had her priorities perfectly in order. Politically correct to the max.

Actually, we have been practising this PC business for some time. Throughout the 1980s, Americans were instructed by Ronald Reagan, his celestially attuned wife and assorted neoconservatives of the gonzo persuasion that the country had shamed itself in the previous decade and required an immediate spiritual overhaul. No longer were we to look outward as a people, but ever and only towards ourselves. No longer were we to strive for unity as Americans, but for individual advancement. No longer were we to address grievances, but belittle the aggrieved. No longer was government to protect the vulnerable, but embrace the strong.

In an anti-PC address at the University of Michigan, President Bush took up the theme. A quarter-century after the fact, he blasted Lyndon Johnson's notion of a Great Society and said that while LBJ meant well, the big galoot just did not grasp all the essentials. Why, said Bush, federal programs only make the poor dependent, rob them of initiative and generate hard feelings among other Americans. Government should not be the engine of social policy, he declared, and observed it was inevitable that LBJ's dream would go bust.

> *The movement has nothing to do with stifling debate, but indicates a social hardening on the part of critics*

Now there is something shoddy about a fellow who has attended Andover and Yale, and who relaxes at the mansion in Maine, and who long has supplemented his hefty bank account with a government paycheque—oh, there is something sad about such a fellow standing before young people at a state-supported university to complain that an attempt 25 years ago to lift millions out of despair was regrettable and misguided, and to somehow suggest that political correctness back then was at fault and that the country faces the same sort of peril now.

Hopefully, the history majors in the crowd were listening carefully because the President's pitch not only was unbecoming and petty, but was wrong—so factually misleading that one can only wonder if George Bush is able to recall what the Great Society was about or whether he simply grabs any speech handed him and starts rapping. In this case, he would have been better off reading the funnies to those about to depart for the real world—a world badly in need of attention.

Left unsaid by Bush—and by the feverish writer of pulp fiction who surely ghosted the Ann Arbor speech—was that Great Society programs have served the nation in exemplary fashion. They have provided education aid, food stamps, consumer protection, auto safety regulations and environmental safeguards. Great Society legislation included the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and Medicare and created Head Start, the plan by which underprivileged youngsters prepare for a lifetime of learning. Yet Bush insists that the attempt came to naught and that Johnson's ideas "were not up to the task." Earth to Leader of the Free World: come in, please.

Now, if everyone promises not to laugh, let us invoke the name of a certain George McGovern. Though the former Democratic senator from South Dakota carried only Massachusetts and the District of Columbia in his 1972 presidential race against Richard Nixon, he has for months, quite astoundingly, been pondering another run for the White House.

McGovern is no fool, far from it, but he is a man of considerable dedication and, evidently, almost unsurpassed capacity for punishment. Upon surveying the Democratic scene and spying no one set to challenge Bush next year, McGovern said that he'd volunteer if others could not be recruited. Happily, McGovern now says that it appears Bush will not win by acclamation, after all—that there is stirring in opposition ranks—and that he, McGovern, is heading for the exit.

Before saying so long, however, McGovern admonished his fellow Democrats. "It is a matter of some personal embarrassment to me that my party has for the most part either gone along with the Reagan-Bush policies or, at best, protested with a wavering and feeble voice," McGovern said. "We need a conservative party in the United States, but with all due respect to the Democratic Leadership Council, we don't need two conservative parties."

And, of course, McGovern is on target. You have today a situation where Democrats are running about like perfect fools trying to convince the American people that they are just as tightfisted, meanspirited, shortsighted, war-ready and elitist as the folks over at the White House and it is a distressing situation, indeed.

Next year, Bush will seek re-election by appealing to whatever he considers the worst fears of the American people. Communism, the previous favorite, is on the rocks and you can't expect some silly side issue like the Pledge of Allegiance to do the trick two elections in a row. So there is a good chance the chief executive will try to exploit affirmative action or hiring quotas or—the current favorite—academic integrity. Democrats, who face long odds anyway, ought to stick by party principles, preserve their dignity and dare the President to brand them politically correct.

Fred Bruning is a writer with Newsday in New York.



Toronto police on scene of a colleague's shooting: in cities across Canada, violence of every kind is on the increase

CANADA

VIOLENT LAND

THE QUESTION WAS WHETHER TIGHTER CONTROL OF GUNS WILL HELP TO STEM A TIDE OF CRIME

It was a week in which society's demons seemed to mock its best intentions. In Ottawa, Justice Minister Kim Campbell introduced proposals for new legislation designed, she said, to keep guns out of the hands of criminals while allowing hunters and hobbyists to pursue their pastimes with minimal interference. But beyond the Gothic iron fence at the foot of Parliament Hill, there was grim evidence of a nation immersed in mounting violence—with and without guns. In Montreal, the week of May 26 began in a burst of gunfire as two men opened fire on a third with an Uzi machine gun and a .45-calibre handgun. In Vancouver at midweek, a young panhandler threw a 72-year-old woman who refused to give him money to the ground and began kicking her in the head. And in Ontario, there was a spate of crimes. A man was shot dead in downtown Toronto the day after a business associate was stabbed to death; police north of the city used dogs to track a man they suspected of shooting one woman to death and wounding another; and at week's end, investigators sought an off-duty soldier whom they suspected of gunning down a policeman on a downtown street.

In addition to those individual tragedies, the week also brought disturbing new figures from Statistics Canada, which reported that last year was the most violent in Canadian history. Beatings, robberies, rapes and murders, the agency said, increased by 50 per cent during the 1980s to a total of 270,000 incidents last year. Against that background, critics accused Campbell of taking too weak a stand on gun control. "I feel betrayed," said Suzanne Laplante-Edward of Montreal, whose daughter was felled by gunman Marc Lépine during his rampage through an engineering school in December 1989. "For three months, we have been reading about how much tougher the new law would be," she added. "This is simply not happening." But in fact, as several of last week's crimes illustrated, the forces driving the country's increasing violence may well be beyond the power of even the most draconian gun-control measures to stem.

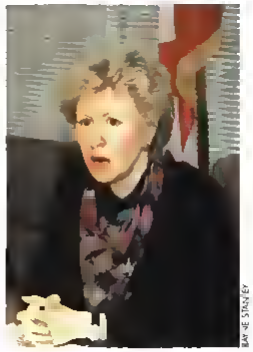
There was clearly no questioning the cause for concern. The trend towards increasingly violent behavior reported by Statistics Canada is apparent in most Canadian cities. In Calgary, police said that the number of major crimes in that city has jumped by 30 per cent in the first five months of 1991, compared with a year ago—with domestic assaults up a staggering 340 per cent to 306 from 90. And Vancouver police spokesman Robert Cooper said: "We see a steady increase in the number of homicides involving guns as compared to the more traditional methods of strangulation and large butcher knives."

Into that climate, Campbell presented legislation that she said is "intended to keep guns out of the wrong hands." Among other things, the new legislation would for the first time require applicants for a Firearms Acquisition Certificate to provide references—two of them—and to wait 28 days while police check each applicant's background. It would double to 10 years from five the maximum prison term for people convicted of possession of prohibited weapons—and permit cabinet to ban some types of paramilitary rifles. At the same time, Campbell rejected one controversial proposal to require a permit for the purchase of ammunition. "This package," she said, "brings Canada's gun-control system up to an acceptable standard, in line with today's reality."

And despite pockets of disappointment, the new bill won at least grudging endorsement from most observers. Said Ottawa Police Chief Thomas Flanagan, chairman of the law amendments committee of the Canadian Chiefs of Police: "I don't think she could have gone any further and still hoped to get the bill through." And Wendy Culver, one of 2,500 members of the national Coalition for Gun Control, acknowledged, "It is better than what is in the law today."

But as last week's tally of assaults, shootings and murders attested, it was far from certain how much impact any new gun-control bill would have on the escalating intrusion of violence into Canadian life. Firearms accounted for only 31 per cent of the murders committed in Canada in 1989, the last full year for which figures are available. And indeed, the assailant who beat 36-year-old Debbie Landry of Scarborough, Ont., so brutally at a secluded cottage north of Orillia that she was unable to seek help for four days last week, used an axe and a fireplace poker. Said Chyrisse Regehr, coordinator of the Winnipeg Sexual Assault Program: "I don't think gun control is going to stop sexual assault or even noticeably lessen the statistics."

At the same time, gun enthusiasts and police both noted that professional criminals are unlikely to find their access to firepower diminished by tighter restriction on legitimate purchasers. "People who want a gun will be able to get one," said Arthur Lymer, president of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Association, "especially when you have a country to the south of us that doesn't have controls."



Campbell: a second attempt

As for the 9-mm pistol that fired two bullets into Toronto police Const. Larry Dee, 36, while he conducted a plainclothes patrol on a downtown street late on the evening of May 30, it may have come from a military arsenal. Within hours, investigators issued a Canada-wide warrant for the arrest of Pte. Eric Schumacher, 21, a member of a Royal Canadian Regiment infantry battalion at the Canadian Forces base in London, Ont., on a charge of attempted murder. Although military spokesmen were quick to stress that the armed forces keeps its weaponry under strict security—and issues 9-mm pistols only to officers—it would not be the first time that a military weapon has been used in a criminal act in Canada. In 1984, Cpl. Denis Lortie used a military submachine-gun to kill three people and injure 13 others during a rampage through the Quebec National Assembly.

In fact, some observers acknowledged last week that even the best-intentioned legislator may be unable to stem the violence mounting in Canada. "We are starting to resemble the United States," said Heidi Rathjen, a graduate of the University of Montreal's Ecole polytechnique who was in the school on the night of Lépine's attack. And indeed, despite the generally positive reception that greeted Campbell's new legislation, last week's bloodshed and brutality gave Canadians little reason for pride in their oft-vaunted virtue of nonviolence.

CHRIS WOOD *with* BRIAN BERGMAN *in Toronto* DAN BURKE *in Montreal,* E. KAYE FULTON *in Ottawa* JOHN HOWSE *in Calgary and* HAL QUINN *in Vancouver*

National Notes

ALLEGING A COVERUP
Opposition MPs challenged the federal government's assertion that cabinet ministers were unaware of the March 30 immigration to Canada of Mohamed al-Mashat, former Iraqi ambassador to the United States, until at least mid-April. Documents tabled before the parliamentary committee investigating the case indicated that eight government departments—including the Prime Minister's Office—were informed of Mashat's arrival in Canada as early as April 8.

SEARCHING FOR A MOLE
Canadian Security Intelligence Service spokesmen confirmed that during the 1980s, authorities investigated the possible existence of a Soviet mole within Canadian intelligence. While CSIS would not release names, The Canadian Press reported that suspicion centred on former RCMP counter-intelligence officer Gilles Brunet, who was fired in 1973 for unrelated reasons. Brunet died in 1984 before the investigation was completed.

HOLTMANN'S NEW POST
After almost two years as the controversial and outspoken head of the Commons culture committee, Manitoba Tory MP and pig farmer Felix Holtmann was elected chairman of the Commons consumer and corporate affairs committee. Commented NDP MP John Rodriguez: "It won't be dull."

A PHYSICIANS' PROTEST
Quebec doctors staged a one-day walkout to protest proposed changes to the province's health-care system tabled last December by Quebec Health Minister Marc-Yvan Côté. Côté sought tighter provincial control over health care, a move that doctors say will curtail their freedom to practise medicine.

SCATHING REVIEWS
The Conservative government announced plans for a new federal ministry of Quebec regional development and drew scathing reviews. Lucien Bouchard, leader of the separatist Bloc Québécois, called it "an unprecedented invasion" into Quebec's affairs.

AN ANTI-TAX FILIBUSTER
The opposition NDP in the Saskatchewan legislature called off a filibuster after 11 days when the Conservative government withdrew plans to curtail debate on a measure to apply the seven-per-cent provincial sales tax to a broader range of goods and services than are subject to the federal GST.

MULRONEY UP CLOSE

POWER HAS AGED HIM, BUT FAMILY AND FRIENDS ARE HIS REFUGE FROM PUBLIC DISLIKE



The Prime Minister in his Parliament Hill corner office: 'I like a scrap'

The image of the youthful, ambitious figure who led the Conservative party to its greatest electoral victory is little more than a faded memory now. When Brian Mulroney was first elected Prime Minister of Canada in September, 1984, his face was unlined, his hair dark, his eyes clear, and he moved with the vigorous assurance of someone who was confident that his best days lay ahead. Less than seven years later, at age 52, his hair is grey, the half-moon reading glasses are perched on the end of his nose more often, and his choppy, uneven gait—caused by an untreatable inner-ear ailment that Mulroney does not like to acknowledge—is more pronounced. He has aged, says one close friend, "shockingly." And the man who once charmed strangers with his boyish smile is now in such public disrepute that he might better be described as the face that launched a thousand protests. But in a recent interview with *Maclean's*, as he discussed his feelings about the political challenges that beset his Conservative government, the Prime Minister said that his years in power had tempered—as well as aged—him. Declared Mulrooey: "I am a pretty strong old guy."

He needs to be. Since public opinion polling began in Canada almost 50 years ago, no prime minister has elicited as much open disapproval. That popular displeasure transcends policy: dislike of Mulroney as a person is widespread and, at times, visceral. A devoted family man who is now a nonsmoker and teetotaller, Mulroney has been subject to some of the most viciously personal gossip of any recent Canadian public figure. Friends tell stories of Mulroney's thoughtfulness and his infectious—if frequently vulgar—sense of humor. But commentators more often characterize his public manner as ponderous, inflated and overly smooth—adding that it makes him appear untrustworthy. Largely as a result, he is often faulted for lacking leadership qualities—although Mulroney's free trade, tax and constitutional policies have changed the country more profoundly than those of most of his predecessors. With characteristic combativeness, Mulroney responds to the leadership criticism. "That is exactly what they said about Sir John A. Macdonald."

Pressures: In fact, some observers say that the causes of Mulroney's unpopularity are beyond his control—or that of any other Canadian political leader. "It's the office, the job of being prime minister itself, that is the real problem," said Michael Adams, president of the Toronto-based Environics Research Group polling company. Noting the country's physical size, its long-standing regional and linguistic tensions and the demands of hard-edged media scrutiny, Adams added: "You have instantly more pressures and cross-pressures than the president of the United States." But others accuse Mulroney of authoring his own misfortunes. Said James Bickerton, the chair of political science at Mulroney's own alma mater, St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S.: "His personality contributed to it—his tendency to overexaggerate, his unctuousness."

Plainly, what Bickerton calls the public's "vilification of Mulroney" can obscure obvious talents. Even detractors acknowledge that he has achieved remarkable success in holding together the fractious mix of francophone Quebecers and anglophone westerners—despite defections by members from both regions—that forms the bulk of his Tory caucus. Internationally, he has also demonstrated an ability to defuse hostilities. When Mulroney last week persuaded Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu to apologize for his country's treatment of Canadian military prisoners during the Second World War, it marked the first such gesture from a Japanese leader to any Western country. For his part, Mulroney said that Canada would support Japan's efforts to obtain a seat on the UN Security Council.

Vengeful: But Mulroney's conciliatory side is undercut by a vengeful streak. Since coming to office, his relations with the media have become bitter on both sides. Mulroney has said that he is infuriated by the media's use of critical quotes by off-the-record sources. But after Joe Clark defeated Mulroney for the party leadership in 1976, Mulroney himself was a leading source for such remarks. And Mulroney too often seems to be the first and most effusive admirer of his own accomplishments. When he shows visitors around his official residence, he takes pride in pointing out photographs of his meetings with world leaders and contrasts those signs of his warm relations with them to what he says was the coolness that they felt towards former prime minister Pierre Trudeau—whom Mulroney often privately calls "that son of a bitch."

Many of Mulroney's better qualities do not shine through in public. When commentators speculated publicly in 1989 that he might fire Finance Minister Michael Wilson because of a budget leak from his department, Mulroney telephoned Wilson's aged father to reassure him that his son's job was safe. Two years ago, when a Montreal journalist checked into a private alcohol detoxification clinic, he was startled to receive a telephone call from Mulroney, offering encouragement. And when Toronto Mayor Arthur Eggleton—a Liberal—recently announced that he would not run again, Mulroney called to congratulate him on his public service.

Publicly, Mulroney shares few details of his private life. Renowned among friends in the late 1960s and 1970s for his many relationships with women and what a friend from that era describes as "a remarkable capacity to absorb vast amounts of booze without showing the effects," Mulroney quit drinking in the late 1970s. He now dislikes discussing that decision and never refers to any relationships before his marriage to Mila in 1973.

Outside his marriage, Mulroney's attitude towards women is ambiguous. Although he has named more women to cabinet positions than any previous prime minister, his close friendships are with a tight circle of men he knows from his days in Montreal. In a revealing exchange at one meeting two years ago with other world leaders, Mulroney described then-Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall as "extremely bright and competent—and, I would add, quite pretty." Friends say that such references reflect Mulroney's small-town upbringing in the 1950s and are meant as compliments. Said one: "Intellectually, Brian knows women are equals. But emotionally, it is hard for him to form real friendships with them."

The exception appears to be Mila. And for that reason, close friends found two unsubstantiated but widely circulated rumors that spread across the country in the past year especially frustrating. One of them was that Mulroney had begun drinking again and was doing so heavily. The second alleged that he and Mila were estranged, partly as a result of the supposed drinking. In April, Mulroney gave an off-the-record speech at the annual National Press Gallery dinner in which, newspapers reported, he joked about meeting Mila by accident as "she was coming in from Montreal and I was leaving the liquor store." But in his first public comment on the subject, speaking to *Maclean's*, Mulroney strongly denounced the rumors. "I was astonished that anyone who knows something about me and my values would pay any attention to this."

Melancholy: Indeed, friends say that there was another—and more creditable—explanation for a pronounced change in Mulroney's demeanor through the summer and early fall of 1990. Almost exactly a year ago, Mulroney was devastated by the defection from his cabinet of his close friend Lucien Bouchard, who promptly announced his support for Quebec independence. Bouchard's actions, and the collapse of the Meech Lake accord shortly afterwards, left Mulroney so depressed, say close associates, that virtually all government decisions last summer were left to Deputy Prime Minister Donald Mazankowski. Still, Mulroney appears to have shaken off his melancholy.

In fact, despite both unpopularity and his own assertions in the early 1980s that he would serve no more than two terms, Mulroney now seems determined to seek a third mandate. He told *Maclean's*, "I fully expect to be around the next time," adding: "I like a scrap." With that, he once again briefly evoked the cocky manner of his younger self, exuding an air of confidence that his best days lie in front of him.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH *with* *GLEN ALLEN and NANCY WOOD in Ottawa*

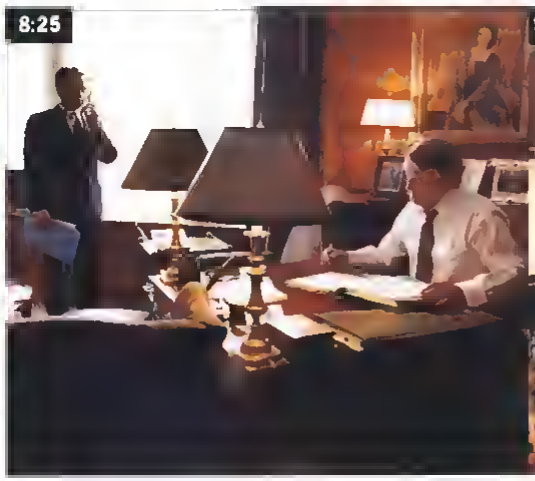
The Private Prime Minister

With the country in crisis and his own reputation battered, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney opened the doors of 24 Sussex Drive, his private offices and the normally off-limits Conservative caucus to *Maclean's* Photo Editor Peter Bregg. Bregg's portrait of the Prime Minister, spanning the events of almost 13 hours on May 15, reflects both Mulroney the politician—and the family man.

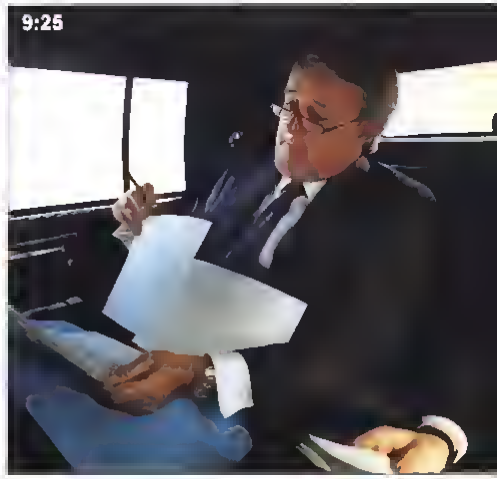


Breakfast at 24 Sussex Drive is a family affair, with the Mulroneys serving themselves. Mila, in designer sweater and exercise pants, is dressed for a 10-km walk after the meal, when she will be accompanied by an RCMP bodyguard and a rock music tape. Another bodyguard will escort the four Mulroney children, Caroline, 17, Mark, 12, Nicolas, 5, and Benedict, 15, to school at the Lycée Claudel, a private French-language academy operated by the French government primarily for its resident diplomats. Mulroney spends an hour reviewing a speech and signing correspondence before leaving for Parliament Hill in an armored Cadillac limousine—one of two such cars at his disposal.

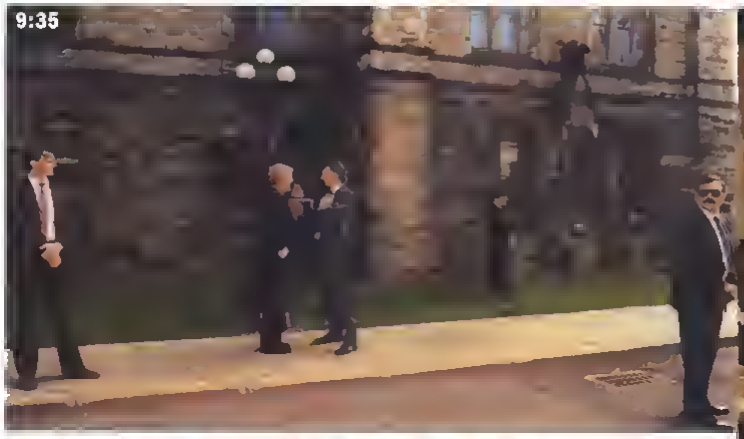








Mulroney, flanked by his RCMP security detail, stops NDP MP Lorne Nystrom for a chat on the way to his parliamentary office one floor above the Commons. There, he takes a telephone call from U.S. President George Bush, and discusses the mid-July G7 summit in London. Later, chief party whip James Hawkes (centre) and caucus chairman Robert Layton brief him on that day's weekly meeting with Tory MPs and senators

















In a 30-minute address to the Conservative caucus in the former parliamentary Reading Room, Mulroney explains recent cabinet changes. Following his usual habit, he interrupts the short walk from his office to caucus and back in order to answer questions from a scrum of two dozen reporters and to pose for photographs with tourists. Following lunch in the parliamentary restaurant, he is briefed by chief of staff Norman Spector and legislative assistant Suzanne Gagnon on issues likely to be raised in the daily Commons Question Period.

THE PRIME MINISTER ON THE RECORD

Just before leaving on an 11-day Asian tour, a relaxed Brian Mulroney, with rolled-up shirtsleeves and a loosened tie, met in his Langevin Block office with Maclean's *Ottawa Bureau Chief Anthony Wilson-Smith to discuss his feelings about life as the Prime Minister of Canada. Excerpts.*

On his apparent unpopularity:
These are difficult times, but you learn to understand the realities of public life. You become inured to most of the trivia. You learn to move with the flow.

On his family life as Prime Minister:
I go home and sometimes it is a little later than it should be, but I am a pretty strong old guy and I can work hard and not suffer too much. The kids are there, and they are a great influence. Mila and the children are the best thing that anybody could have.

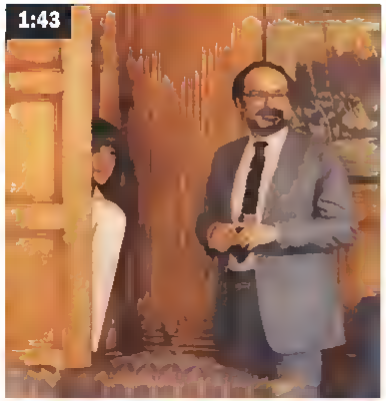
I tell [Deputy Prime Minister Donald] Mazankowski, 'You know, Maz, what I heard? I went home the other night, and Mark said: "Dad, you were pretty good in Question Period today. But Mr. Mazankowski was better." ' How do you like that? Here's a 12-year-old who is giving us grades at Question Period.

It is really funny to listen to their comments as they watch the so-called experts on television analysing me. These 12- and 13-year-olds kind of shake their head and chuckle. What I like about their attitude is that they never get angry. The furthest they go is to say, 'Why would they say that about Daddy? He is not like that at all.'

On whether he will run again:
When I got into this, I consulted with Mila, and if there were going to be any changes, she and I would get together and talk about it. I fully expect to be around the next time, but if there's any change, I'll let you know. Although, the way it's going now, the kids are getting to be so assertive I'll probably have to bring them into the debate also.

On rumors that he had resumed drinking and that his marriage was failing:
The gossip mill in this town was working overtime—I have to say unbeknownst to me. I was the one who was most surprised to even know that this stuff was floating around. I was astonished that anybody with a brain in their head in this town, who should know something about me and my values and where I am on certain things, would pay any attention to this at all. What can you do? You have just got to deal with it.

Mila Mulroney interrupts her husband's after-lunch briefing to share a private moment. (She maintains her own office, staffed by one full-time assistant and two secretaries, in the quarters occupied by the Prime Minister's Office—the PMO—in the Langevin Block across the street from Parliament Hill. She is the first prime minister's wife to do so.) Later, Government House Leader Harvie Andre (centre) and Deputy Prime Minister Donald Mazankowski arrive to accompany the Prime Minister to Question Period. Returning afterwards from the Commons, Mulroney this time brushes by the reporters. Less than an hour later, he is back in the Government Members' Lobby that adjoins the Commons chamber, reading over his notes for a speech he will shortly deliver in the House. In it, Mulroney will defend the legislative plan for his government set out by Gov. Gen. Ramon Hnatyshyn in his speech from the throne, and commit the Tories to pursue "a better Canada, a Canada that is more open and fair, and generous and free." As other government MPs chat in small groups, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall uses one of the telephones dotted around the lobby.





















Also in the lobby, Environment Minister Jean Charest takes advantage of Mulroney's presence for an informal conference. After his Commons speech, Mulroney returns from Parliament Hill to 24 Sussex Drive, where Mila is hosting a garden reception for 150 Tory women from Quebec—one of many party and diplomatic functions held at the Prime Minister's official residence. After greeting most of the visitors, Mulroney seeks out son Nicolas in the indoor pool (added during former prime minister Pierre Trudeau's residence) for some horseplay.

The reception over, Mark and Caroline gather in the kitchen with their mother and the staff. After a snack of his own, Mulroney withdraws to his study where he talks to press secretary Gilbert Lavoie. By 7:15, he is back on Parliament Hill for more meetings. While awaiting a Commons vote on the throne speech, Mulroney joins Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark in the lobby to watch Liberal MP and deputy leader Sheila Copps on one of the televisions in the room—another is tuned to a hockey game. After the vote, there is time at the end of a typical 13-hour day for a final photograph with tourists, while the Prime Minister and his security guards await his car behind the Parliament Buildings.□













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A troubled agenda

Canada's first nations are choosing a chief

Eight months after the army enforced an armistice between Indians and whites at Oka and neighboring Quebec communities, the tensions that gave rise to a summer of conflict still fester dangerously. Many native leaders say that despite some conciliatory gestures by white authorities, aboriginal anger is undiminished—not only on the outskirts of Montreal, but elsewhere in Canada. In half a dozen locations across the country, experts say, native frustration over unresolved disputes points towards conflict this summer. Against that dark prediction, a contest among six candidates to succeed Georges Erasmus as leader of the country's largest and most powerful native organization, the Assembly of First Nations (AFN), has acquired importance for all Canadians. Bradford Morse, a University of Ottawa specialist in native affairs, observed that the winner at the leadership convention—on June 11 in Winnipeg—will "hold the aspirations of an entire people in his hand." And, said Morse, "given the political climate, the election is more relevant to many Canadians than the elections of premiers."

The new leader will be elected from among a group of men that forms, by any measure, the best-educated and highest-profile slate of candidates in the 11-year history of the assembly, which represents Canada's 600,000 status Indians. Said Harold Cardinal, an instructor with the native studies department at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon: "All bring with them a degree of professionalism, knowledge and sophistication that is the mark of a new generation of native leaders." The candidates:

- Philip Fontaine, 46, grand chief of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs and a strategist in the successful native campaign to derail the Meech Lake constitutional accord last June;
- Ovide Mercredi, 45, Manitoba regional chief of the AFN and a lawyer who was also involved in the Meech Lake fight;
- Bill Wilson, 47, British Columbia regional chief of the AFN and a fiery advocate of native rights;
- Neil Sterritt, 50, a British Columbia land claims activist who is a Gitksan hereditary chief;
- Michael Mitchell, 44, Mohawk grand chief from Akwesasne, near Cornwall, Ont., a former film-maker and a specialist in education and native culture;
- Wilbam Montour, 49, chief of the Six Nations of the Grand River, near Brantford, Ont.

The successful candidate will face a troublesome agenda—including the danger that unresolved disputes could tilt relations with the non-native community towards armed confrontation. Still, there have been several positive signs in recent weeks. Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark said that representatives of aboriginal Canadians—excluded from the Meech Lake round of negotiations—may be appointed to advise a parliamentary committee that will tackle the constitutional issue this fall; a committee of current and former native MPs is studying a proposal to guarantee aboriginal representation in the Commons; and a royal commission on native issues is being formed.



Fontaine (left), Sterritt, Wilson, Mitchell, Mercredi, Montour: a summer of conflict?

But in one measure of the slow pace of dealing with native questions, it was only last week that Quebec Public Security Minister Claude Ryan ordered a special coroner's inquiry into the shooting death of provincial police Cpl. Marcel Lemay last July 11 at the Kanesatake Mohawk reserve near Oka. That killing set off the summer-long crisis that engulfed nearby Kahnawake and other local communities. Ryan also announced that 39 police officers face disciplinary charges related to last summer's clashes. Meanwhile, the trials of 44 Indians charged in connection with the 1990 troubles are bogged down in a courtroom dispute over language. And settlement of the Oka land conflict that gave rise to the crisis has been delayed while Kanesatake resolved differences over the reserve's leadership.

In an effort to defuse tensions in that southwestern corner of Quebec, Mohawk leaders and 11 local mayors held a conciliatory meeting last week. But heavily armed Mohawk Warriors continued to man barricades at all roads leading into Kahnawake, a source of frequent confrontations with police.

Elsewhere, militant members of British Columbia's Mount Currie Band provoked angry clashes this spring with local loggers by blocking roads near Pemberton, 120 km northeast of Vancouver. In southern Alberta, a radical faction of the Peigan band, the Lonefighters, renewed protest demonstrations against the completion of the Oldman River dam, which they say will flood Indian land. In northern Alberta, a procedural dispute delayed the trials of 13 members of the Lubicon Indian band on charges stemming from a long-standing conflict—often violent—over logging and land rights. And in northern Quebec, Cree spokesmen say that they may resort to Oka-like tactics if expansion of the James Bay hydroelectric project proceeds as planned. Declared Cree Chief Billy Diamond: "It's a bomb waiting to go off."

Amid such signs of potential violence, Chief of Defence Staff John de Chastelain told *Maclean's* that the military has not developed specific plans to deal with outbreaks of native unrest, adding: "I hope last summer was an aberration." That hope is plainly shared by many in the native community. Said Cardinal: "I think at all costs the political leadership, whether Indian or white, should be working to avoid a situation where people are looking at each other through the eyesights of a gun." Meeting that challenge may well be the most difficult task facing the next leader of the Assembly of First Nations.

BRIAN BERGMAN *with* GLEN ALLEN *and* E. KAYE FULTON *in Ottawa*



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IT JUST FEELS RIGHT

A CLOUDED VICTORY



Rebel tanks in Addis Ababa; distributing emergency food supplies (right): 'More children will die very quickly'

FEAR, ANGER AND CONFUSION REIGN AS ETHIOPIAN REBEL FORCES TAKE CONTROL OF ADDIS ABABA

After more than three decades, the Ethiopian civil war was finally over. The dictator, Mengistu Haile Mariam, had fled, a rebel army had seized the capital, Addis Ababa, without major bloodshed, and the U.S. government had welcomed the new regime, despite its Marxist leanings. But for many citizens of Africa's oldest independent state, there was little cause for rejoicing. In the capital, the prevailing mood was one of fear, anger and confusion. In the drought- and war-ravaged countryside, millions of people faced the imminent threat of starvation. Overall, the economy was in ruins—and the country seemed in real danger of breaking up. In fact, only one tiny segment of Ethiopia's population of 51 million had good reason to celebrate: the 14,000 Jews who had been airlifted to Israel just before the capital fell.

The despondency and rage in Addis Ababa resulted from a mixture of ethnic and ideological animosities. Seventeen years of Marxist rule under Mengistu's military government had clearly left the traditionally conservative Ethiopians in no mood for more of the same. But the victorious Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front appeared to be even more communist-oriented than the regime that it had ousted. As well, the rebel movement was dominated by Tigreans, members of an ethnic group from the north of the country whom the Amhara people of the capital tend to regard as inferior.

The Amharas were further enraged by the prospect of becoming landlocked when the victorious front's separatist allies from the Red Sea province of Eritrea, the Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front, announced their intention to form an administration of their own. That move appeared to foreshadow a complete break with the rest of the country. And to the evident dismay of many Amharas, the U.S. administration seemingly sanctioned such a move when assistant secretary of state Herman Cohen said that the Eritreans, who began their fight for independence in 1960, deserved the opportunity to vote on the question.

Cohen's statement appeared to signal a reversal of U.S. policy, which had previously favored a federal solution to prevent the breakup of Ethiopia. And it fuelled rising resentment among citizens who took to the streets to protest against the U.S. role in seeming to condone partition. They chanted "One Ethiopia," picketed the U.S. Embassy and called Tigreans by the derogatory term *wayanis* (rebels). In two days of confrontation with angry citizens, rebel troops opened fire several times, killing an unknown number. Several hundred others died in an ammunitions dump explosion near the capital. But diplomatic observers said that the generally well-disciplined behavior of the Tigreans had prevented a far higher casualty toll. "This is knife-edge stuff," said one Western diplomat. The rebel troops, he added, were handling a tricky situation with great skill. "Everyone is impressed by their professionalism," he said.

Meanwhile, leaders of the newly ruling front met representatives of UN and private humanitarian agencies to discuss the reopening of famine-relief supply routes that the civil war had disrupted. UN officials estimated that seven million people faced starvation, threatening an even worse catastrophe than the 1984-1985 famine, which claimed up to one million Ethiopian lives. Said Paul Ignatieff, a Canadian who is UNICEF's representative in Ethiopia: "More children will die very quickly if they are not reached within a week." But observers said that the interim rebel administration did not appear to understand fully the urgency of the situation. Although relief workers said that any delay would be catastrophic, front vice-chairman Tamrat Layne rejected their pleas for the immediate reopening to supply flights of Addis Ababa's international airport. Complained one relief official, who declined to be named: "They seem rather laid-back. This transitional period could be one of great disaster."

In Washington, officials cited the famine as one reason for the Bush administration's decision to intervene in the Ethiopian civil war by brokering Mengistu's resignation and sponsoring peace talks in London between his regime and the rebels. Said one administration official: "They wanted to avoid another humanitarian disaster like the flight of the Kurds." But Michael Clough, senior fellow at the New York City-based Council on Foreign Relations, described that attitude as one of "blind paternalistic arrogance"—particularly when local authorities were unresponsive. Said Clough: "You have no leverage when you want to deliver relief more than they want to receive it."

American officials cite another reason for the U.S. intervention: the desire to obtain the long-delayed exit to Israel of the Ethiopian Jews, the remnants of a community that has been cut off from the rest of world Jewry for about 2,000 years. In an airlift code-named Operation Solomon after the biblical king, Israeli airliners flew 14,000 Ethiopian Jews out of Addis Ababa in 21 hours. But once they had arrived in the Jewish state, the Ethiopians faced a massive adaptation problem. Shalva Weil, a Hebrew University anthropologist who has been working with Ethiopian immigrants since 1984, explained: "They come from such a different society, such a different culture—a village society, practising very primitive agriculture. It is a tremendous shock when they come into a modern society."

Ethiopian-born Adisu Masale, 30, who has lived in Israel for 10 years, estimated that it would take a full generation for the newcomers to adapt to the social, cultural and political differences. "We are a very quiet, patient people," said Masale. "That is our culture. But in Israel, people are very aggressive. They speak loudly. They are not patient." Clearly, the Ethiopian Jews would not find the transition easy. But the problems they faced appeared small—and surmountable—compared with those of the land that they had left behind.

JOHN BIERMAN *with* **ERIC SILVER** *in Jerusalem,* **HILARY MACKENZIE** *in Washington and correspondents reports*

World Notes

EUROPE'S NEW LOOK

NATO's 16 defence ministers announced a blueprint for the most radical shakeup of their alliance since its founding in 1949. NATO plans to cut troops stationed in Central Europe by about half and to create a multinational rapid-reaction unit of at least 60,000 troops to face potential threats from the Arctic to the Mediterranean. Meanwhile, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh reached agreement on a treaty to reduce non-nuclear weapons in Europe, paving the way for a superpower summit.

AN ARMS-CONTROL PLAN

President George Bush proposed that Britain, China, France, the Soviet Union and the United States hold a conference in an effort to slow the buildup of conventional arms in the Middle East and rid the region of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. But Bush's initiative quickly became mired in controversy the next day when U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney offered Israel 10 F-15 fighter jets. Cheney also announced that Washington would underwrite most of the cost of the Jewish state's multimillion-dollar Arrow missile defence program.

PEACE IN ANGOLA

Angola's leftist President José Eduardo dos Santos and right-wing rebel leader Jonas Savimbi signed a peace treaty in Lisbon, formally ending a 16-year civil war. Angola, a former Portuguese colony that won independence in 1975, plans to hold multiparty elections in late 1992.

THAI AIR DISASTER

An Austrian jet bound for Vienna crashed 16 minutes after takeoff from Bangkok, killing all 223 passengers and crew aboard. Although some aviation experts suggested that the midair explosion may have been caused by a bomb, preliminary investigation indicated that engine failure was responsible for the crash of the Lauda Air Boeing 767-300ER, owned by champion race-car driver Andreas-Nikolaus Lauda.

POLICE VICTIM ARRESTED

Rodney King, whose videotaped beating by Los Angeles policemen in March sparked a nationwide furor, was arrested on suspicion of assault with a deadly weapon. According to police, King drove his van at a vice officer who, along with another officer, tried to arrest him for picking up a male prostitute. Four white policemen are awaiting trial for the March 3 beating of King after a car chase.

INDIA

Assassination aftermath

Indians prepare to vote after Gandhi's murder

In the gathering twilight of a sweltering New Delhi day, several hundred earnest young men were sweating and straining in the cause of Hindu nationalism. As instructors barked out orders, they practised military drills and martial arts in a dusty school yard on the outskirts of the Indian capital. At the end of the session, they formed ranks in front of a saffron-colored flag and solemnly saluted by crossing their right arms over their chests. With their makeshift uniforms of khaki shorts and red sashes, the members of the Hindu revivalist Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) movement appeared hardly more theatening than a troop of boy scouts. But for many Indians, they represent something far more sinister: the cutting edge of a wave of Hindu nationalism that threatens to strain the country's religious tensions to the breaking point.

Those tensions will be further tested next week as Indians complete the voting in their 10th national election, delayed because of the assassination of former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi. After seven days of official mourning for Gandhi, killed by a terrorist's bomb at an election rally in Sriperumbudur on May 21, India's politicians resumed campaigning last week. And senior members of Gandhi's severely shaken Congress party abandoned attempts to persuade their murdered leader's widow, Sonia, to replace him and continue the Gandhi family's political dynasty. Instead, after several days of confused manoeuvring, they chose an experienced but uncharismatic party veteran, P. V. Narasimha Rao, as the provisional president of India's oldest and once-mightiest political organization. The choice of Rao, who is 69 and in frail health, was a sign of the party's deep divisions in the wake of Gandhi's murder. "He is a stopgap," said Chandra Bhambhri, a political scientist at New Delhi's Jawaharlal Nehru University. "They must pretend to unite for the election, but once it is over the real struggle for power inside the Congress will begin."

The party's acute disarray contrasted sharply with the self-confidence of the Hindu revivalist forces, which are its main rival in the election. Exit polls showed that the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the Hindu group that takes many of its ideas and leaders from the activist RSS movement, fared well in the first round of voting on the day before Gandhi's death. Before his murder, which Indian investigators said was the work of Tamil terrorists, the Congress party had campaigned on the platform of restoring stability to India in the face of mounting religious and regional conflicts. But with the Congress party rudderless and divided, the BJP quickly thrust itself forward as the new party of strong government. "Rajiv was their only strong point," BJP vice-president Atal Vajpayee told *Maclean's*. "Their claim to stability sounds very hollow now." Congress party leaders struck back with a calculated appeal to voters' sympathy for their slain leader. Party workers carried urns containing ashes from Gandhi's cremation to various parts of the country and used them as the focal points of public processions that served as both tributes to Gandhi and election rallies for the Congress.



Rahul Gandhi with his slain father's ashes: divisions in the Congress party

Despite the BJP's early strength, most analysts predict that it will fall well short of a majority in India's parliament after voting on June 12 and 15. But the party, with its emotive appeal to the country's Hindu majority to assert itself, has already reshaped India's political landscape. Its leader, 63-year-old Lal Kishen Advani, toured the country telling Hindus that they have become second-class citizens in a country where they form 83 per cent of the 850-million population. Special legal treatment for minorities, mainly India's 110 million Moslems, should be ended, he said. "Hindus," he added, "have been defensive for too long."

Advani also seized on Hindu activists' long-standing demands for the destruction of a mosque built four centuries ago on a site that devout Hindus believe is the birthplace of their god Lord Ram—and for building a new temple to Ram in its place. Conflict over the site, at Ayodhya in northern India, has resulted in violent clashes between Moslems and Hindus, and dozens of deaths. Advani's rhetoric frightens many Moslems, who accuse the BJP and its ideological allies of betraying Hinduism's tradition of tolerance. "They are turning it into a religion of violence," said Mohammed Afzal, a Moslem member of India's upper house of parliament, the Rajya Sabha. "If this country disintegrates, the BJP will be responsible."

The BJP's rise has been dramatic: from two seats in parliament in 1984 to 88 in 1989—and predictions of as many as 160 seats this time. But impressive as that increase may be, it is only the political face of a much wider movement of Hindu nationalism that has spread through much of India in the past several years. Most of the BJP's senior leaders, including Advani and Vajpayee, are longtime members of the RSS, the 66-year-old Hindu organization



whose name translates as "National Social Service Volunteers." The RSS is a disciplined group whose ranks have always included extremists one of its followers, Nathuram Godse, assassinated spiritual leader Mahatma Gandhi in 1948 Jawaharlal Nehru, independent India's first prime minister and Rajiv Gandhi's grandfather, once called the organization the Indian version of fascism. Its leaders, however, insist that they seek only for Hindus to enjoy full rights in their own country

In a darkened room off a shady courtyard in New Delhi's old section last week, away from



Bombay slum: nationalist passions stirred by the right-wing Hindu BJP party may be difficult to contain

the chaos and dust of the streets, the group's general secretary outlined its goals. H V. Seshadri, a slight, bespectacled man in his 60s with a gentle manner and soft voice, did not remotely resemble a stereotypical fascist Hinduism, he explained, "is not a religion, but a way of life and a culture shared by all Indians " The call by the RSS and the BJP that India should be a Hindu *rashtra*, or nation, would not exclude Indian Moslems Sikhs or Christians, he said, because all those groups are merely different sects of Hinduism "Everyone in this part of the world is a Hindu by culture," Seshadri said ' And we say that all Hindus should be treated equally in law, regardless of religion."

To the Hindu activists, that would mean doing away with constitutional guarantees granted to Indian Moslems after India became independent in 1947 They include special autonomy granted to Jammu and Kashmir, the predominantly Moslem northern state now racked by secessionist conflict, a separate legal code for Moslems governing such matters as marriage and family law and the right of Moslems to dispense religious education in their own government-funded schools. The Hindu activists also want to ban the slaughter of cows, which they consider sacred, throughout India At present, it is permitted in only two states but RSS members maintain that cattle are taken there from other states to be killed "It was a fundamental mistake to give special rights to minorities at independence," said Seshadri "It only creates a sense of separatism. We say: Equality for all, special rights for none."

The BJP's leaders have made a determined effort to moderate their rhetoric and present their party as a reasonable alternative to the discredited Congress Their policies, however, strike deep chords of prejudice among many Indian Hindus A commonly heard argument is that Indian Moslems are more loyal to Islamic Pakistan than to India—and even celebrate with fireworks when Pakistan's cricket team beats the Indian side And although India tries to control its birthrate by promoting family planning. Moslem men are allowed four wives under their religious code and have a higher-than-average birthrate Said Vajpayee, the BJP vice-president "The Moslems have to join the national mainstream. We don't believe in appeasing minorities."

Not surprisingly, India's Moslems regard the rise of the Hindu party and the groups behind it with opeo alarm Equally appalled is much of India's intellectual establishment, which generally supports Nehru's ideal of India as a secular, liberal state in which religion is treated as a private matter Said political scientist Bhambhri "If democracy is to survive in India, with all our differences, it must be pluralistic and secular. There is no other way." Still, other analysts note that as the BJP's support has grown, the party s leaders have moderated their message to appeal to a wider constituency

The result, they say, is that a BJP-dominated government would likely not be the type of extremist force so feared by Moslems. The party already holds power in three of India's states, where it has a generally good record in office and has presented a well-considered economic platform along with its nationalist ideals "The realities of power are already making them more realistic and pragmatic," noted Bashiruddin Ahmed of New Delhi's Centre for Policy Research, who is himself a Moslem. But for Ahmed and others, the fear is that the nationalist passions stirred by the BJP in its quest for power may oot be easily contained. Said Ahmed last week. "The leaders may be reasonable, but the extremists behind them will not vanish. They are riding a tiger—and who knows if they will be able to control it?" That, coupled with an election in which no party is expected to win an outright majority, appeared to make the parties' declared goal of political stability a distant dream

ANDREW PHILLIPS *in New Delhi*



LAMI FOCOS/TONY STONE WORLDWIDE

Winter Palace; Sobchak (below): a move to shed the Communist-dominated past

THE SOVIET UNION

'Leningrad' under siege

A debate over a city's name heats up

It was Czar Peter the Great's window to the West, the cradle of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and the heroic city that withstood a 900-day siege by Nazi forces during the Second World War. Now, Leningrad, which was renamed in honor of Vladimir Lenin five days after the Communist leader died in 1924, is divided by a new battle Its reformer-dominated city council, led by popular Mayor Anatoly Sobchak, wants to restore the city's original name, St Petersburg In a controversial referendum that is scheduled to be held along with Russia-wide presidential elections and mayoralty races on June 12, municipal voters will be asked if they prefer the name that the city received at its 1703 founding to its current name That proposal has angered many of Leningrad's 1 5 million *blokadniki*, or siege survivors But Sobchak has remained steadfast on the issue, adding that the most obvious incarnation of the Lenin legend—his embalmed body in a mausoleum in Moscow's Red Square—should be laid to rest once and for all Lenin, said Sobchak, "should be buried in St. Petersburg," where his mother and sister already lie



SIPA/CAMERA PRESS

The fact that Leningrad, the city where the Bolsheviks seized power, is even considering the name question is a clear sign of the profound changes that are sweeping the Soviet Union. In many communities across the fragmenting country, local governments have made such highly charged gestures as removing statues of Lenin In Moscow, the central thoroughfare that once bore the name of socialist hero Maxim Gorky recently reverted to its old name, Tverskaya Street, and the former city of Gorky, where dissident Andrei Sakharov languished in internal exile for six years, is again known as Nizhny Novgorod But in Leningrad, the name-change controversy has divided Sobchak's supporters and, observers say, may not pass Deputy mayor Vyacheslav Scherbakov told *Maclean's* last week that he was convinced voters would reject a switch back to St Petersburg. "I myself am against any name change," added Scherbakov, a 51-year-old former captain of a Soviet nuclear submarine

Still, in Leningrad and other centres across the Soviet Union, steps to shed the Communist-dominated past go beyond such cosmetic changes and are usually accompanied by strong demands for economic reform Foreign governments have added their own pressure—and Moscow is showing signs of responding Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is eager to secure Western economic aid and to win an invitation to the July summit in London of the Group of Seven (G7), the world's major industrial powers. Last week, in an apparent show of good faith, Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov presented a draft bill that commits the Kremlin to removing major barriers to long-term foreign investment, and three of Gorbachev's advisers travelled to Washington to present the U S government with new proposals for economic and political reform.

Meanwhile, would-be reformers ranging from Sobchak to Gorbachev received encouragement last week from an unabashed capitalist former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher. During a four-day Soviet visit, which included stops in Moscow and Leningrad, Thatcher urged the leaders of the G7 countries—Canada among them—to invite Gorbachev to the London summit. But she warned that Western aid would not flow unless the Soviet Union launched far-reaching reforms. She urged the Soviets to abolish government control over the faltering economy and restore private property rights Said Thatcher "The guarantee of stability in any society is private property—it makes people independent and responsible " In a May 27 speech at Moscow State University, she added: "Your bureaucracy ruins all good intentions And while it predominates, no foreign assistance will help take your country out of its economic crisis."

By including Leningrad on her itinerary, Thatcher visited one of the world's most beautiful cities, a canal-laced northern metropolis of five million people that is renowned for its neoclassical architecture and museums and galleries that are filled with vast artwork collections But although the grandeur remains, Peter the Great's window on Europe is also a begrimed, run-down place of potholed streets, frequent shortages of food, overcrowded slums and a severely polluted Baltic coastline However, Sobchak and other city council reformers have announced ambitious plans to make Leningrad more than what rival Muscovites sneeringly claim is a museum city. Senior city officials take pains to dispel the tourist-brochure image of Leningrad as simply a repository of

past power and glory. Last week, Scherbakov stressed that Leningrad was second only to Moscow as the Soviet Union's most important industrial centre, with factories in the outlying suburbs producing chemicals, farm machinery and armored vehicles.

Sobchak and other reformers say that they want the Kremlin-operated defence plants in the region to turn out more tractors and fewer tanks. In fact, they are hoping to convert most of Leningrad's municipally owned enterprises into privately owned operations by outright sales, long-term leases or the formation of joint-stock companies that would be owned by the operation's employees. And as part of that shift from a centrally planned economy, the city government wants to make Leningrad a free economic zone, enticing foreign manufacturing and service firms to an area encompassing 80 000 square miles through generous tax concessions and exemptions from customs duties. In May, Leningrad won support for that program from Boris Yeltsin, the powerful chairman of the Russian legislature—and the heavy favorite to become the republic's first popularly elected president in next week's voting. And with the deepening economic crisis prompting a truce in the continuing unity battle among Russia, the other 14 republics and the Kremlin, Scherbakov and other Leningrad officials predict that the Soviet government will not obstruct the zone's establishment.

Certainly grandiose development plans have been part of Leningrad's recent history—and not all have reached fruition. For one thing, some city officials say that they are no longer counting on a billion-dollar urban redevelopment deal between the city and a group of North Americans headed by Cleveland financier Cyrus Eaton Jr., son of the Canadian-born steel magnate and philanthropist. A group of Canadian investors, led by Toronto real estate developer Edwin Cogan, is no longer an active partner in the deal. But Eaton remains bullish, saying that he is seeking European investors to finance the undertaking.

In marked contrast to that megaproject, the city's privatization of shops, restaurants and businesses is beginning to show modest but encouraging results. In one instance early this year, Leningrad officials auctioned off the premises and equipment of 40 small, unprofitable state enterprises to private owners—on condition that the new owners continue supplying approximately the same services to customers. Vladislav Gerasimov secured the right to operate a run-down dry-goods store for a cash outlay of $550. Soviet law still bars him from buying the premises outright, but the 29-year-old former naval officer has a 40-year lease with the city for the relatively low rent of $1 150 per month. Gerasimov acknowledges that some elderly women in the working-class district have complained to him about prices that are slightly higher than those in state stores. That is because Gerasimov, in turn, buys his merchandise from state factories at market prices. In any event, he earned back his $550 investment during the first three days in business. He added: "Most people who come in here say that they are happy to see scarce items like safety pins and thimbles. There is nothing on the shelves of state stores."



Leningrad demonstrators with pre-revolutionary flag· symbols

On a cool, rainy morning last week, a steady stream of customers kept Gerasimov's three clerks busy. Many shoppers said that they wanted to see more small stores in the area, offering shoppers a choice of goods and competitive prices. At the same time, the new store owner and most of his customers expressed their firm commitment to retain one aspect of life in Leningrad: they do not want to change the name of their city.

In the turbulent atmosphere of Leningrad city politics, where Sobchak and his supporters must strive to win the backing of 400 elected deputies of the city's assembly, the name-change proposal has swollen into a full-blown controversy as voting day approaches. It is an issue that has produced some odd alliances, including one between Communist party members and exiled dissident writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Now living in Vermont, the Nobel Prize-winning author, whose Russian nationalist views receive regular coverage in Soviet media, argued last week that all Russians, not just Leningraders, should vote on the name-change issue. And, he added, the name Petersburg violated Russian linguistic and historical traditions. He suggested that the Germanic "Petersburg" should be replaced by such Russified forms as Petrograd or Svyato-Petrograd—literally, "St. Peter's City."

In Leningrad itself, local Communists have led the campaign against a name change on the grounds that it would be too costly—an estimated $45 million—to alter the city's name on signs, stationery and equipment at a time of more pressing problems. At a news conference last week, Leningrad party leader Boris Gidaspov also argued that the name-change proposal dishonors Second World War blockade veterans—and the 667,000 who died. Said Gidaspov: "If Leningrad had fallen in 1942, Moscow would have fallen and Russia would have fallen. The fascists would have been in England and today's news conference would have been in German."

In response, council member Dmitri Mezentsev says that reverting to St. Petersburg would be a signal to the world, and potential investors, that the city is undergoing dramatic changes. Mezentsev noted that changing the name of Stalingrad to Volgograd in 1961 did not slight the soldiers who won one of the most decisive battles of the Second World War in a city that no longer commemorates Soviet dictator Josef Stalin. But the angry voices of blockade veterans have convinced Mezentsev that the name-change proposal is doomed to fail.

He and other Sobchak supporters say that Leningrad residents will endorse the popular, 54-year-old lawyer in the city's mayoralty election. But if Sobchak continues to occupy his elegant office in the 18th-century palace that houses city hall, many analysts say that they are increasingly convinced that he will do so as mayor of *Leningrad*. Although the city and country are rapidly discarding many of the trappings of 74 years of Communist rule, some symbols, including the name of an officially designated heroic city, have clearly become embedded in the country's consciousness.

MALCOLM GRAY *in Leningrad*

The Romance of the "Grand Atlantic Crossing"...



...lives on.



Think of the "Grand Atlantic Crossing" and romantic images of a bygone age of steamship travel flood to mind. On 1 June Singapore Airlines introduced a new service from Toronto to Singapore via Amsterdam or Vienna. Crossing the Atlantic for the very first time and rekindling the spirit of a romantic past with inflight service even other airlines talk about. Singapore Girl you're a great way to fly

SINGAPORE AIRLINES

A great way to fly

BOARDROOM BACKLASH

THE POLICIES OF ONTARIO'S NDP CAUSE THE BAY AND OTHER FIRMS TO CONSIDER A MOVE FROM CANADA

It is one of the world's oldest corporations and for much of its 321-year history the Hudson's Bay Co. has been a pillar of the Canadian economy. It is still Canada's largest retailer, operating 490 stores in four chains: the Bay, Simpson's, Zellers and Fields. But in years to come, the Toronto-based company will likely have a much smaller presence in its home market. *Maclean's* has learned that Hudson's Bay is, in the words of one senior executive, "very seriously thinking" about relocating its massive warehousing, distribution and internal communications operations to U.S. border cities such as Buffalo, N.Y., and Spokane, Wash. That move, which would eliminate as many as 2,000 Canadian jobs, would enable the company to take advantage of lower U.S. tax rates and operating costs. The Bay's decision to consider relocating many of its activities to the United States was prompted by another factor, as well. Company officials say that they are deeply worried about the economic policies of Ontario's New Democratic Party government. "The NDP is generating real fear in the business community," said an executive. "That's causing us to rethink our operations in Ontario."

Nor is Hudson's Bay alone. In the nine months since Premier Bob Rae came to power at Queen's Park, the mood in Ontario's business community has swung from cautious optimism to anger and despair. The signs of a business backlash have increased markedly since Ontario Treasurer Floyd Laughren tabled the government's maiden budget on April 29. At a time when the federal government and most of the other provinces are preaching austerity, Laughren called for $2 billion in additional spending in an effort to revive the recession-racked Ontario economy while improving some social programs. At the same time, Laughren forecast that the provincial deficit will climb to $9.7 billion in the current fiscal year—on total outlays of $52.8 billion—compared with a $3-billion deficit on expenditures of $46.5 billion in 1990-1991.

Although many social welfare advocates welcomed the budget, business groups complain vociferously that it will saddle the province with too much debt, stifle new investment and make moving to the United States a more attractive prospect. "The government says that, faced with the choice of fighting the deficit or fighting the recession, it is proud to be fighting the recession," says Lawrence Tapp, president of Lawson Mardon Group Ltd., an international packaging company based in Mississauga, Ont. "I sincerely hope that our children and grandchildren will be just as proud when they have to pay our bills." Laughren, however, says that the government's spending plans will help, rather than hurt, the business climate in the province. "I am convinced we are on the right track," he told *Maclean's* last week.

In fact, the budget is only one of many NDP initiatives that are stirring strong opposition in business circles. Corporate critics have also lashed out at proposals to:

- make officers and directors of companies personally liable for back wages and severance pay in the event of corporate bankruptcy,
- prohibit companies from hiring temporary labor during strikes and make it illegal for management personnel to perform the work of striking employees,
- introduce a government-run automobile insurance program to replace the existing system of no-fault private insurance,
- require all liquor in the province to be sold in refillable containers—a measure that industry officials say would drive distillers out of the province and eliminate 1,500 jobs.

As corporate opposition to Rae's policies gathers force, an increasing number of business leaders are translating their complaints into action. On May 16, 3,000 protesters, many of them pin-striped stockbrokers and lawyers from Toronto's Bay Street financial district, held an hour-long rally in front of the provincial legislature to denounce the budget. The rally's organizers were John McBride, a Toronto-based mining company executive, and Loudon Owen, a lawyer. McBride and Owen, both 33, are now organizing a letter-writing campaign to the premier's office and are planning another demonstration for June 27. Says Owen: "The gravity of this situation was driven home to me within days of the budget when commercial clients started to call and ask about things like the tax implications of moving their business to the United States."

Ontario's proposed spending plans have also sparked criticism from the federal government, which is wrestling with its own $30.5-billion budget deficit. During a visit to Hong Kong on May 25, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney said that Ontario's deficit was a major obstacle to attracting foreign investment. His remarks touched off a series of sharp exchanges between Queen's Park and Ottawa, which subsided only when Rae and Constitutional Affairs Minister Jim Clark agreed to address the issue during a previously scheduled meeting on national unity.

Laughren, a former economics teacher, insisted last week that he is not alarmed by the threats of a business exodus from the province. "I think there is more heat than light in what they are saying," he said. But he added that the government will have to try harder to convince Bay Street of the merits of its policies: "They're not sure we can manage the store effectively, and we have no track record to show them. We have to consult with the business community before rather than after the fact. We're not good enough at it yet."

But Laughren's assurances have failed to persuade many executives, who openly say that they are reconsidering their investment plans in Ontario as a result of NDP policies. Sheldon Caplan, vice-president of Toronto-based Union Felt Products (Ontario) Ltd., for one, says that his company is weighing plans to increase its investment in its Calgary upholstery-products factory and is considering a major expansion of its plant near Buffalo. Says Caplan: "We are consciously choosing *not* to invest in Ontario. The question we keep asking ourselves is: 'Who needs this?'" Caplan adds that he is particularly annoyed by the government's proposed legislation on plant closings, which for the first time would make company officers personally liable for back wages and severance pay in the event of corporate bankruptcy. Directors, who are now liable for back pay in the event of bankruptcy, would also become liable for severance pay under the legislation. "If we make a wrong move with an acquisition," he says, "we not only lose our investment, we could lose our houses, too."

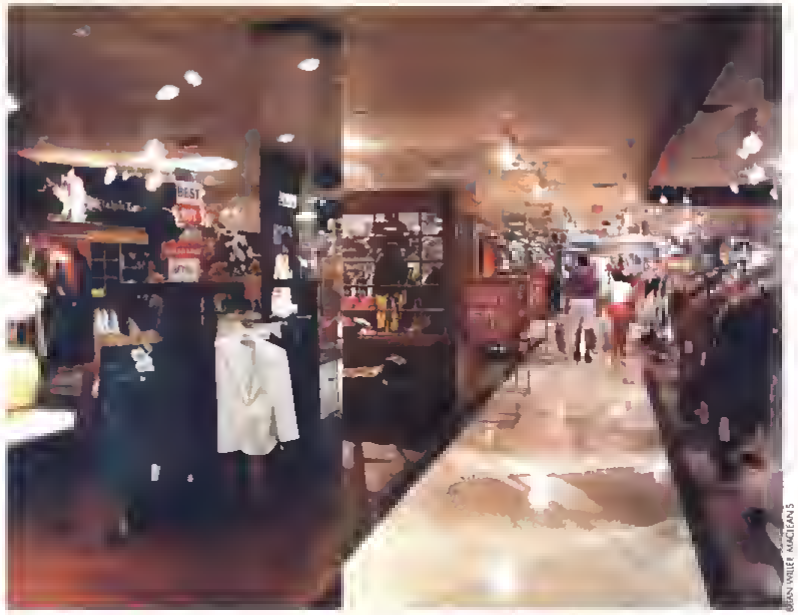
Lawson Mardon chairman Tapp adds that he is now considering whether to move his packaging firm, which employs 700 people in Ontario. "I can operate this company from any jurisdiction in the world," Tapp says. "If we leave Ontario, it will be with reluctance—but I'm not very encouraged."

One of the most outspoken opponents of provincial NDP policies is Mel Lastman, veteran mayor of the suburban Toronto city of North York. Lastman, who entered politics in 1972



Owen (left), McBride: organizing business protests against the Ontario budget

PETER BREGG/MACLEAN'S



The Bay's flagship store in Toronto: 'real fear'

BRIAN WILLER/MACLEAN'S

Business Notes

ON THE INSIDE TRACK
Transportation giant Bombardier Inc. is in line for another major rail contract. The Texas High-Speed Rail Authority endorsed a bid from Texas TGV, a consortium that includes the Montreal company, to build a high-speed train system linking Dallas and Houston. Bombardier, which is already supplying railcars to the English Channel tunnel project, would receive 17 per cent of the $6.7-billion contract to supply cars and other equipment.

FROZEN AT ZERO
Federal employees will receive no pay increase this year. In February, Ottawa imposed a public-service pay ceiling of three per cent a year for the next three years, but added that each one-per-cent increase in 1991-1992 would result in the loss of up to 2,000 jobs. But a spokesman for Treasury Board President Gilles Loiselle said that negotiations had dragged on too long to implement layoffs this year, making any pay increase impossible.

BACK TO THE BASICS
Michael DeGroote, who founded Burlington, Ont.-based Laidlaw Inc. in 1959 and turned it into North America's third-largest waste-management company before retiring last December, returned to the garbage business. DeGroote, 57, took over as chief executive officer for Republic Waste Industries Inc., a small Houston-based waste-disposal firm.

A CROSS-BORDER BEEF
A spokesman for Agriculture Canada dismissed as "politically motivated" a *New York Times* article claiming that tainted Canadian meat has entered the United States because of streamlined border inspection procedures under the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. André Gravel, director of the department's meat and poultry division, said that opponents of a proposed U.S.-Mexican free trade pact are attempting to paint a negative picture of the trade accord.

A BIG BLUE BLAST
An angry John Akers, chairman of International Business Machines Corp., said that he wants tough action, including firings, to regain market share from competitors. According to notes taken by a Calgary executive at a recent IBM management seminar, Akers told participants that the company has "ton many people standing around the watercooler waiting to be told what to do." The manager later circulated the notes electronically to co-workers in his area, who then sent them throughout the firm's computer system.

after running his chain of discount furniture-and-appliance stores boasts that North York's pro-business policies make it the "last bastion of capitalism in Ontario." But he adds that the city, with a population of 560,000, now has over eight million square feet of empty industrial and commercial space—in part, he contends, because high federal and provincial taxes have discouraged new investment. Declares Lastman: "We're fighting like hell to keep people here, but it's hard. You can't lobby or talk to the NDP—they speak a different language. Their idea of government is to spread poverty more evenly across the province."

Since Laughren tabled his budget, both major New York City-based debt-rating agencies, Standard & Poor's and Moody's Investors Service, have downgraded the province's credit rating, making it more expensive for the Ontario government and its agencies to borrow money abroad. The government estimates that the reduction will add $26 million to the province's borrowing costs in the current fiscal year. Declares Joseph Taylor, vice-president of capital markets for the Wall Street brokerage firm Merrill Lynch & Co.: "The provincial government has introduced a number of policies that will have a dampening effect on its economy. The perception down here is that the measures are well intended, but the government is completely oblivious to what appropriate economic policy is."

Other business executives take a more sanguine view of the Ontario government. Henry (Hal) Jackman, chairman of E-L Financial Corp. Ltd., which controls National Trust, says that he refuses to be ruffled by political rhetoric or radical initial proposals. "If this bill went through as it is proposed," says Jackman of the government's employee wage protection legislation, "it would give me great cause to worry. But there is a lot of bowling and gnashing of teeth going on, and I don't think you can assume that because a guy's in the NDP, he's absolutely unreasonable. It's all still at the proposal stage."

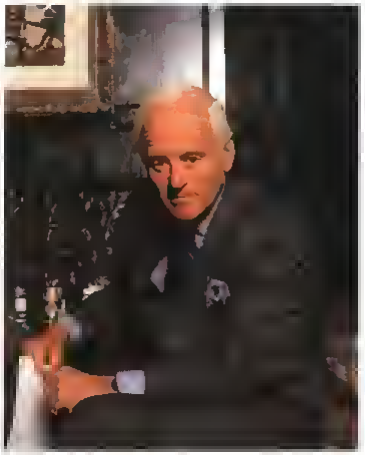
Hudson's Bay officials do not appear to be as confident about the business climate in Ontario. At the company's annual meeting last week, chief executive officer George Kosich attacked both the federal and the provincial governments for failing to discourage cross-border shopping. But he added: "Our costs of doing business in Ontario are growing at a faster rate than in all other provinces, mostly from increases in taxation." Privately, a company executive told *Maclean's* that the firm has even urged some of its own domestic suppliers to move to the United States in order to reduce the wholesale price of their products. If they fail to do so, he added, they will risk being replaced by U.S. suppliers. Although Laughren says that his economic prescriptions will help to revive the Ontario economy, it seems likely that at least some businesses will not remain in the province long enough to experience the results.

DEIRDRE McMURDY
with BARBARA WICKENS in Toronto

A touch of gold

Peter Munk creates a global power

Entrepreneur Peter Munk has always been anything but a staid or predictable businessman. The flamboyant Hungarian-born engineer first came to public prominence in the 1960s as the co-founder of Toronto-based Clairtone Sound Corp., a stereo-system manufacturer that was dissolved in 1971 after the company failed—despite a $20-million investment by the Nova Scotia government—to manufacture a distinctly Canadian television set. After that debacle, Munk opened a luxury hotel in Fiji and eventually assembled a chain of more than 50 resort hotels in the South Pacific. In 1981, he returned to Toronto and, two years later, plunged into gold mining—an industry about which he readily acknowledged ignorance. But over the past eight years, operating from an unlikely headquarters amid art galleries and boutiques in the city's fashionable Yorkville district, he has built his American Barrick Resources Corp. from scratch into North America's seventh-largest gold producer. And last week, the 63-year-old Barrick chairman stunned industry executives when he announced that Barrick is acquiring the continent's largest gold producer, Denver-based Newmont Mining Corp., to form the world's second-biggest gold producer, after Anglo American Corp. of South Africa.



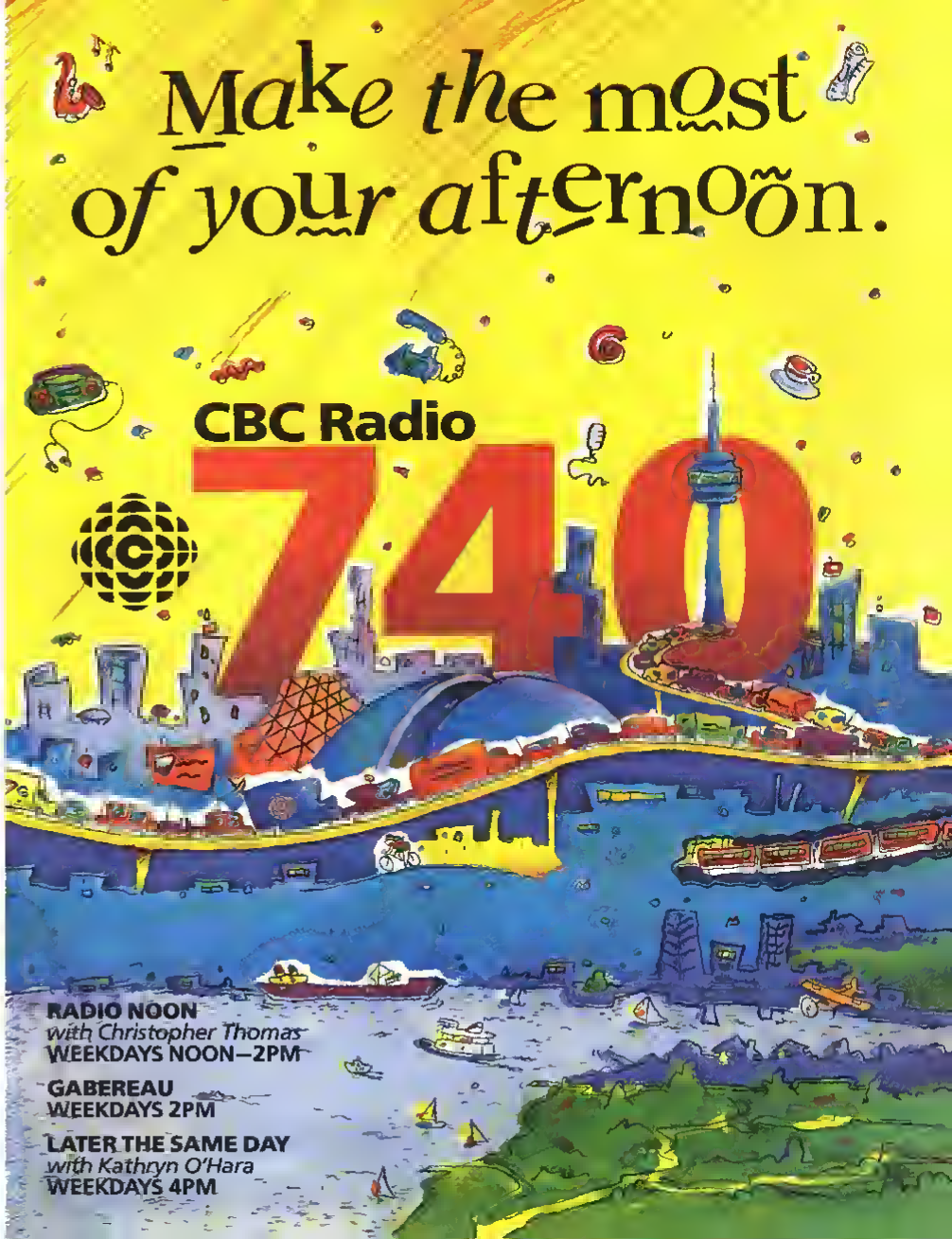
Munk: achieving the 'ultimate' deal

News reports of the proposed union, which would allow the two companies to combine their holdings along the fabulously rich Carlin Trend gold belt in northern Nevada, jolted international gold markets. "No one expected this," said Terry Bell, a gold analyst for the Toronto-based brokerage firm Dean Witter Reynolds (Canada) Inc. "This is the ultimate deal in the gold-mining business." Bell added that the merger could be the first of many, as producers attempt to reduce costs to cope with weak gold prices. For the past two years, the price of gold has languished mostly below $400 (U.S.) an ounce, compared with its all-time high of $850 (U.S.) an ounce set in 1980.

The Barrick-Newmont deal would also link Munk with one of the world's most colorful tycoons, Anglo-French corporate raider Sir James Goldsmith, 57, who owns 49.97 per cent of Newmont. Last week, however, Munk and Newmont executives declined to grant any interviews, explaining that they did not want to jeopardize the complex and ongoing negotiations. But in a joint statement, the companies said that they have tentatively agreed that Newmont shareholders would receive 1.8 Barrick shares for each Newmont share. While Munk's stake in the new Barrick would drop to 11 per cent from 21 per cent, the value of the merged company will increase to an estimated $5 billion, compared with Barrick's current market capitalization of about $2.7 billion. Still, several sensitive issues, including whether Munk will remain as chairman, are still under discussion.

Regardless of who manages the combined company, analysts say that it will make mining the Carlin belt more profitable. Operating costs for the open pit mine, 425 km north of Las Vegas, are already among the lowest in the world at $180 (U.S.) an ounce, compared with a North American average of $237 (U.S.) and the South African average of $310 (U.S.). As well, analyst Bell, for one, says that the merger is a sign that the centre of world gold-mining investment appears to be shifting to North America from South Africa, where political unrest and higher costs are threatening the industry. Indeed, Munk has said that South Africa's clouded prospects influenced his decision to take up gold mining. Now that he is on the verge of completing one of the biggest gold deals in history, it appears that the unpredictable financier does indeed have the Midas touch.

JOHN DALY





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BRIAN WILLER MACLEAN'S

Trudel: 'we think we're in a better position now to compete'

Is the worst over?

Executives are starting to talk recovery

Unemployment is still high, export sales are weak and corporate profits are generally slim or non-existent. But across the country, the word "recovery" is gradually creeping into the vocabularies of recession-battered Canadian business executives. For Orville Mead, president of Kroehler Furniture Co. of Stratford, Ont., the first signs of a potential economic turnaround occurred last month. "Our orders for May were nicely ahead of last year's level," said Mead, whose company, Canada's third-largest furniture manufacturer in terms of revenues, makes upholstered and wooden furniture at three factories in southern Ontario and one in Edmonton. He added: "Consumers are still very wary, but a lot of them are at least visiting stores. For the first time since mid-1989, we think that we can see light at the end of the tunnel."

Just as one swallow does not make a summer, a few positive signs of improved business conditions do not prove that the recession of 1990-1991 is history. But Mead's experiences, and those of hundreds of businesspeople like him, provide an important counterbalance to the recent tide of grim economic statistics. Late last week, Statistics Canada reported that the country's gross domestic product—the most widely watched indicator of economic health—fell by 1.3 per cent during the first three months of the year. The three-month drop in GDP was the steepest since the current recession began during the second quarter of 1990, and about equal to the largest quarterly drops in the 1981-1982 recession. Said Philip Cross, StatsCan's director of current analysis: "There aren't any signs that the economy is going to turn around tomorrow."

With 1.4 million Canadians out of work, those results were disconcerting. But economists say that predicting the future direction of the economy on the basis of available statistics is like driving a car while gazing into the rearview mirror. The statistics reveal where the economy has been—not where it is going. In fact, an increasing chorus of analysts are saying that the recession is probably already over, although the GDP figures to prove that will likely not appear until late summer at the earliest. "A whole array of indicators are pointing to a spring revival," says George Vasic, chief economist of DRI Canada, a Toronto-based economic forecasting agency. "Housing construction has improved noticeably, automobile sales are picking up, and wholesale lumber prices have increased 35 per cent since the beginning of the year."

One of the keys to a sustained recovery, Vasic and others contend, is a continuation of current lower interest rates. In less than a year, the prime rate charged by Canada's major banks to their best customers has dropped to 9.75 per cent from 14.75 per cent. A related drop in mortgage rates has fuelled a revival in Canada's housing market—which, in turn, is spilling over into increased demand for building materials, furniture, household appliances and a wide range of other goods.

One company that is already benefiting from the housing recovery is Camco Inc. of Mississauga, Ont., which manufactures stoves, refrigerators and other appliances under the General Electric, Hotpoint and Moffat brand names, among others. According to Michel Trudel, the company's vice-president of sales, Camco's sales bottomed out in March and have been improving slowly ever since. Camco executives are not ready to break out the champagne just yet—for one thing, Trudel says, the company's sales in May were still about five per cent lower than in the same month of 1990. But he adds that the company, indirectly controlled by General Electric Co. of Fairfield, Conn., has invested $30 million in new manufacturing equipment during the past two years and is hopeful that its efforts will pay off in improved productivity and higher profits. Says Trudel: "It's going to be a slow recovery, but we think we're in a better position now to compete in the North American market."

Another positive sign for the economy is the recent improvement in business conditions in the United States, the destination for about 70 per cent of Canada's exports. Last week, the U.S. commerce department said that corporate profits in the first quarter of 1991 fell by three-tenths of one per cent—a much slower decline than in the past six months of 1990. In addition, U.S. sales of new homes rose in April for the third month in a row. And orders from U.S. factories rose 1.8 per cent in April, the first increase in six months. On the other hand, U.S. retail sales were 0.1 per cent lower in April than in the previous month—evidence that consumers, at least, remain cautious.

According to most analysts, those statistics point to, at best, a modest U.S. recovery. But Vasic, for one, says that he expects the Canadian economy to grow at a faster pace than its U.S. counterpart, at least until 1993. That, he says, is because the recession in the United States has been shorter and milder than in Canada, and there is less pent-up demand among consumers. In addition, the recession has driven many weaker Canadian companies out of business and forced those that remain to become more efficient—increasing their ability to compete when the good times return.

The furniture industry may be a case in point. According to president Mead, several of Kroehler Furniture's domestic competitors have gone bankrupt in the past two years, leaving Kroehler with a larger share of the Canadian market. "The companies that managed to survive the downturn are looking forward to a bright future," he adds. As Mead sees it, even the clouds of recession have a silver lining.

ROSS LAVER



An orphan goes on sale to the public

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Petro-Canada's $600-million stock issue, one of Canada's largest, is not as bad a deal as its critics claim

How do you empty a bingo hall in Baghdad?

Just yell, "Under the B-52!"

How do you empty a hall of Canadian investment dealers?

Just yell, "Here comes the Petro-Canada issue!"

That issue, worth an estimated $600 million, will be one of the largest in Canadian history. The advance billing has been dismal, with frantic analysts trying to outdo one another in predicting that the shares won't remain at their issue price (most likely $15) and that the whole exercise will disappoint brokers and disillusion investors—even if the brokerage industry desperately needs the commissions involved.

It ain't necessarily so.

Petro-Canada has always been an orphan. When it was launched in 1975, it was within the context of rapidly rising energy prices and a country afraid for its security of supply in a world being rattled by Arab threats of drastic price increases. At the same time, Ottawa was worried about the accelerating Americanization of Canadian energy companies and desperately wanted a window on the industry.

Except for the $1.6-billion takeover of Petrofina Canada Inc. in 1981, which was motivated by Ottawa's desire to establish a strong federal presence in French Canada (presumably prompted by the fact that most of Petrofina's stations were in Quebec and that Petro-Canada installations show lots of red and a maple leaf), and the Crown company's exploration off Canada's coasts, not very much happened. The government never really used Petro-Canada as a policy instrument; the company itself never behaved like a government branch plant.

By 1985, then-Energy Minister Pat Carney had cut Petro-Canada loose from any obligation to enhance government policy, and earlier this year the Mulroney government passed Bill C-84 to privatize the company. Although only a preliminary 15 per cent is currently being marketed, the Tories will almost certainly try to sell off at least 51 per cent within the next 18 months, so that no future government can reverse the process.

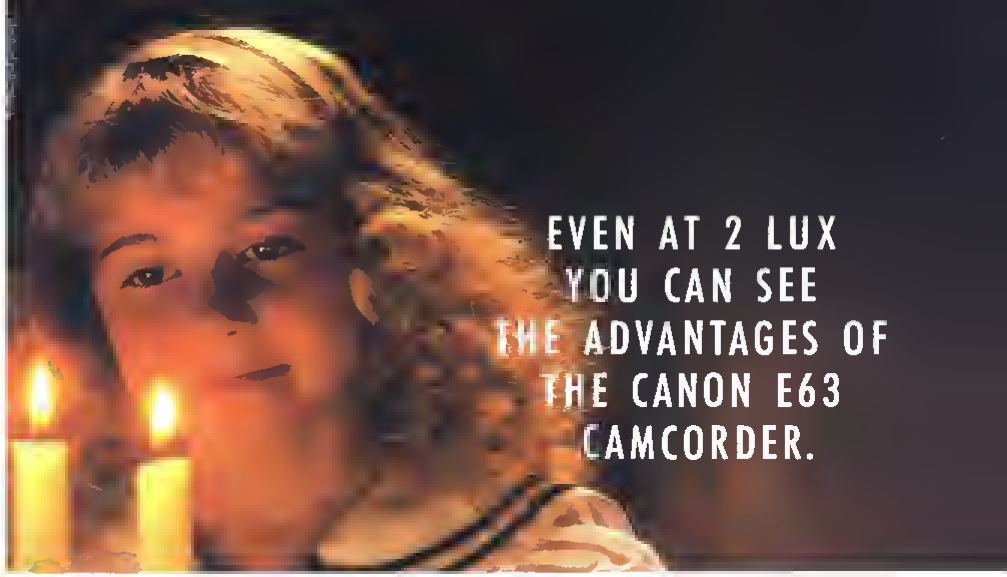
The company being made available to investors ranks third among Canada's crude-oil producers, averaging 82,100 barrels a day, or five per cent of Canada's total production. Its conventional—easily drilled—oil reserves are an impressive 275 million barrels. It has another 243 million barrels of synthetic reserves, mostly in the tar sands. Petro-Canada is fifth in terms of natural-gas production (with three trillion cubic feet in reserve), selling 484 million cubic feet daily. On top of all that, the Crown corporation is the leader in frontier and Arctic exploration, where it has discovered another 720 million barrels of oil and 7.3 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. It also runs active or exploratory drilling operations in Yemen, Vietnam, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Malaysia, Colombia and Ecuador; has the third-largest Canadian network of gasoline service stations, owns 18 per cent of the country's refining capacity and holds a 37-per-cent stake in the profitable Westcoast Energy conglomerate.

These are major assets and should command a premium. Whatever the short-term prospect might be—and it is held back by the company's $2.4-billion debt—Petro-Canada is a jewel among the world's energy companies. It is strategically placed to benefit long-term shareholders with generous returns. But partly because the Petro-Canada preliminary prospectus was originally issued on the same day as the company reported a record loss of $52 million on revenues of $1.34 billion for the first quarter of 1991 (compared with a profit of $40 million on revenues of $1.38 billion in the same period last year), the new issue has had terrible press. Carlyle Dunbar, editor of the semi-monthly *Investor's Digest*, calculates that the company has earned only 2.1 per cent on its invested capital in the past decade, while Imperial Oil (7.2 per cent) and Shell Canada (6.2 per cent) did much better. Ian Doig, the Calgary energy analyst, has pointed out that the main reason Petro-Canada needs to reduce its debt is that while still a Crown corporation, it took on the burden of bringing into production the expensive Hibernia field. Doig estimates that even after government grants to the Newfoundland offshore project, Petro-Canada will still have to contribute $100 million this year. That amount will quadruple in 1992 and 1993—though, according to Doig and other experts, the Hibernia field will be viable only if oil prices jump to $35 a barrel from the current level of $23 a barrel.

When I dropped in to see Bill Hopper in Calgary recently, the Petro-Canada chairman was hopping mad about those who criticize his Hibernia investment on the basis of future oil prices. He told me: "The price will be determined by the marketplace; it has nothing to do with the cost of production. That's like building a $500,000 house and when the buyer says, 'You built it near the city dump and I'll give you only $100,000 for it,' you insist that you want to get what it cost. The Grand Banks oil area where Hibernia is located is a larger area than the North Sea, and we haven't really touched it. A lot of those undiscovered fields will be producers one day."

"One thing is certain," he insists, "Government-run enterprises will never operate as efficiently as private-sector companies—even though Ottawa may pledge that they really don't want to control you." He added: "Any time you want to shut a plant down and throw a couple of hundred people out of work, you know someone's going to call you up and say, 'Jeez, what are you trying to do to us?' And you know they're not making the same phone call to Imperial. So that with all the best intentions on the government side, there are always going to be factors that impinge on the commerciality of the company. We have recently been starved for capital and that has seriously limited our ability to develop our assets. Access to the equity market will enable us to capitalize much more fully on the opportunities available to us."

The Petro-Canada float, which will dominate the financial news for the next month, is not a sure bet. But buying a share of major energy assets, safely available within North America, is about as good as it gets these days. Mark Twain once commented that Wagner operas are not really as bad as they sound. Neither is Petro-Canada's new stock issue.



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But the Lexus engineers know that pleasure is also derived when one has a feeling of complete control. Therefore, all four wheels are equipped with Formula-1 race inspired double wishbone suspension and large vented disc brakes with ABS (Anti-lock Braking System). Plus, Traction Control is also standard.

However, the SC 400 is not just a sports coupe, but a *luxury* sports coupe. Inside the cabin, Bird's Eye Maple wood trim is used generously. Fine leather has been fitted. And a custom tuned, 280 watt, 7 speaker Nakamichi stereo system with 12 disc CD changer is standard.

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TWICE OVER THE LINE

President George Bush's son Neil has been losing both on the courts and out of court. Last week, in an out-of-court settlement with the U.S. government, Bush and other officers of Denver-based Silverado Banking, Savings and Loan agreed to pay $57 million for their role in the bank's 1988 failure—which will cost U.S. taxpayers $1 billion. Meanwhile, officials at a Denver tennis tournament disqualified Bush for cheating. When he and his doubles partner easily beat their opponents, the officials discovered that Bush, 36, had played in a class below where he should have entered. Double fault.



MCCRIMMON, ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS/SIPA

Bush: some unsettling court settlements



KIRKLAND STORM PUB PHOTO

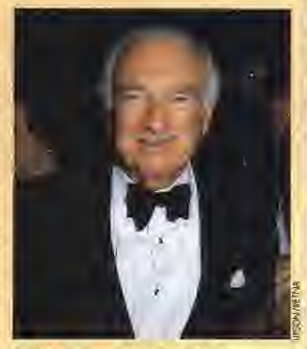
Field: a flying nun, a union activist, a farmer and a soap star

Enjoying some comic relief

In a shift from melodrama to daytime drama, **Sally Field** plays a soap-opera star in the comedy *Soapdish*, her latest movie. Although Field began her career in the TV comedies *Gidget* and *The Flying Nun*, she is usually associated with more serious roles. Field, 44, won Oscars for her performances as union activist *Norma Rae* (1979) and a resilient farmer in *Places in the Heart* (1984). And earlier this year, in *Not Without My Daughter*, she played a woman held captive in Iran. Said Field of her recent change of pace, "I was definitely in the mood for it."

New heights

Two newsmen with lofty careers, **Ted Turner** and **Walter Cronkite**, are visiting some mountainous country this week. At the Banff Television Festival, CNN founder Turner, 52, will receive an award for programming excellence, and Cronkite, 74, will receive one for his contribution to TV news. And although Cronkite says that the most he can take credit for is his discovery that sitting on the tail of his jacket prevents it from riding up and making him look rumpled on camera, festival president **Carrie Hunter** declared: "The world is a freer, more truthful place because of him."



MPSON/RETNA

Cronkite: sitting on his jacket

TEMPTED BY TACOS

After she started writing her first healthy-eating cookbook, Smart Cooking, in 1984, says Anne Lindsay, she began to practise what she preached in earnest. Still, two healthful cookbooks later, Lindsay acknowledges the occasional deviation from strictly nutritious fare. Lindsay, a longtime food writer whose popular cookbooks have sold about 700,000 copies, wrote the 1988 best-seller* The Lighthearted Cookbook *and the newly released* Lighthearted Everyday Cooking, *both of which are endorsed by the Heart and Stroke Foundation of Canada. Confessed Lindsay, 47: "My two big sins are french fries and taco chips." She offers this excuse for her greasy transgressions: "I don't sin as often as I used to. But I am human."

A man and his moustache

Lanny McDonald will trade his hockey sweater for a tuxedo at this week's NHL awards in Toronto. The former Toronto Maple Leaf and Calgary Flame right winger with the trademark red moustache is scheduled to present the King Clancy award to the player who best demonstrates leadership qualities on and off the ice, a trophy that McDonald won in 1988 as a captain of the Flames. McDonald, who has done publicity for the Flames since he retired after their 1989 Stanley Cup win, is still widely popular. Fans continue to wear Lanny T-shirts, carry Lanny-likeness dolls and sport fake red moustaches. Said McDonald, 38: "I like to think it's how I played the game. There is a saying: 'Fame is fleeting, respect is everlasting.' If you work hard and demonstrate your values, on and off the ice, you earn people's respect." And there is that moustache.



ROSENOT-CAMERES

McDonald: lasting respect

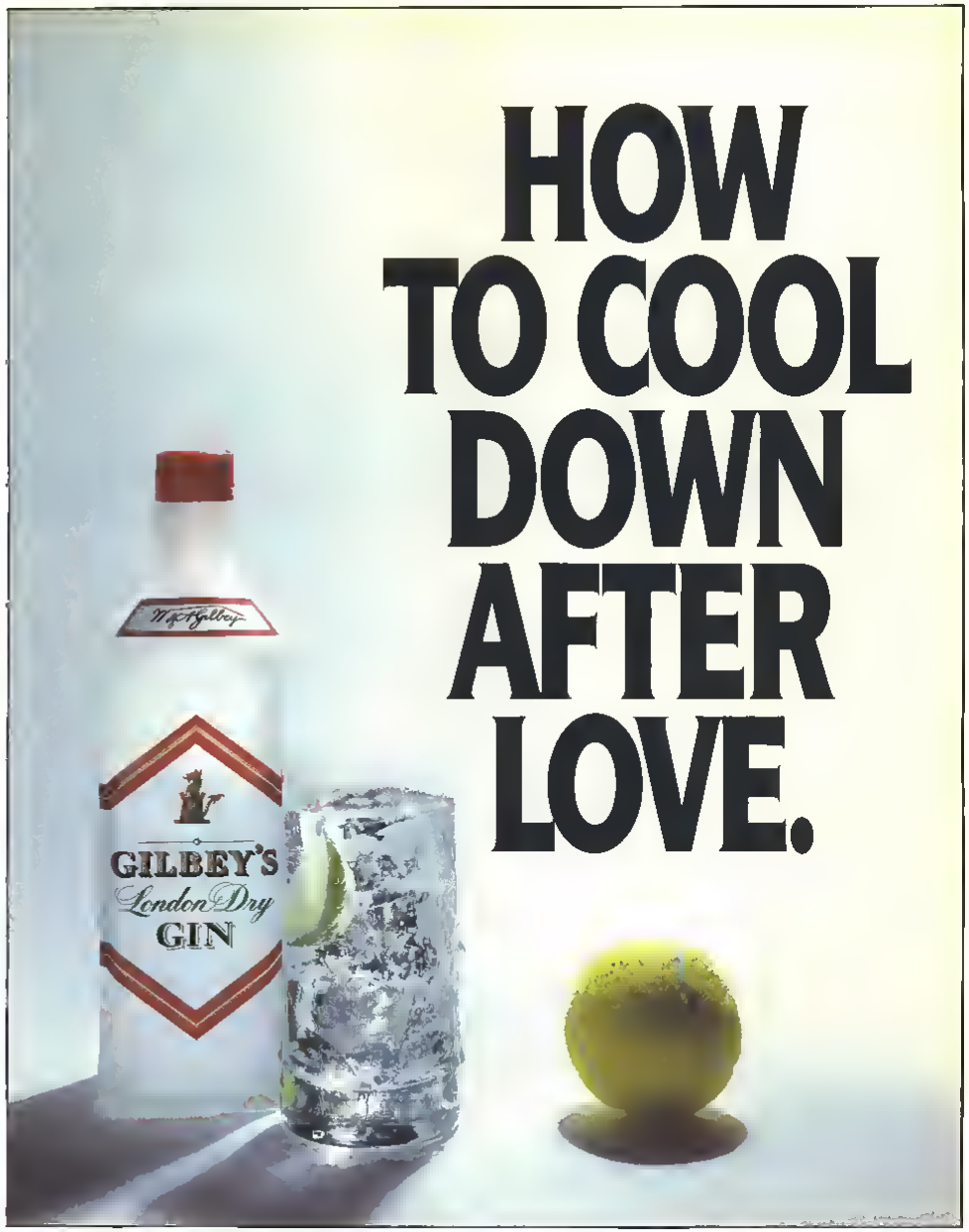




PHOTO BY KEITH IN DAVIDSON/CANADA WIDE

MEDICINE

'Zero tolerance'

A task force says "no" to sex abuse by doctors

Releasing the college's report, among the harshest penalties in North America

According to the victim, the incidents occurred on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons over a three- to four-month period during the mid-1970s. Jean Halliwell, now 55, a grandmother and owner of a small photography studio in London, Ont., was seeing a psychiatrist about her fear of darkness. She said that the doctor began giving her intravenous doses of a stimulant and a barbiturate during her twice-weekly visits. While she was in a drug-induced euphoric state, said Halliwell, the psychiatrist would insist that she perform oral sex or engage in sexual intercourse. Halliwell was one of nearly 400 women who earlier this year shared their experiences with a task force set up by the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario to investigate sexual abuse of patients. Last week, the task force released a preliminary report that estimated that about 10 per cent of Ontario's 22,000 practising doctors may take sexual advantage of their patients. As well, the report called for a lifetime suspension of physicians found guilty in the future of sexually abusing patients.

In a 92-page report containing 60 recommendations, the five-member task force, made up of two doctors and three nonmedical professionals, urges the college to adopt a policy of "zero tolerance" towards sexual abuse. The recommended penalties, including fines of up to $10,000 for doctors who commit sexual improprieties—including remarks considered demeaning to their patients—would be among the harshest in North America. Following publication of the report, a meeting of the college's 27-member council, made up of 21 doctors and six laymen, last week unanimously endorsed the concept of "zero tolerance."

Although the Ontario task force report is the first of its kind in Canada, the problem of sexual abuse of patients is attracting attention elsewhere in the country. In British Columbia and Alberta, the provincial colleges of physicians and surgeons are considering setting up inquiries into sexual abuse by doctors. Dr. Kenneth Brown, registrar of the Manitoba College of Physicians and Surgeons, said that the college censured two doctors and temporarily suspended a third last year for sexual misconduct. As well, the college is currently investigating complaints against five other physicians. And in British Columbia last week, 67-year-old psychiatrist Dr. James Tyhurst of Vancouver was on trial before the provincial Supreme Court on four counts of indecent assault and one count of sexual assault. One of four female complainants has testified that Tyhurst hypnotized her, whipped her and forced her to perform sexual acts. Tyhurst, a former head of the psychiatry department at the University of British Columbia, has pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

Some of the women who testified before the Ontario task force said that after doctors took advantage of them sexually, they suffered a variety of reactions from headaches, nausea and blurred vision to chronic emotional and psychological problems. Said Halliwell: "There is a time when you have to do something when you cannot sit on the fence anymore. My anger will not allow me to be silent anymore."

Despite the apparent prevalence and severity of sexual abuse by doctors, the task force report contended that the Ontario college's current procedure for investigating complaints is heavily weighted in favor of protecting doctors rather than helping patients. Task force chairman Marilou McPhedran, 39, a Toronto lawyer, said that the college rarely investigates a doctor unless there are complaints by two different people. Said McPhedran: "We want the college to do the same thing in sexual abuse cases as they do in cases of medical incompetence. Those doctors must not be allowed to practise again."

The Ontario college set up the task force last January after receiving a growing number of complaints by women against its members. At the time, said Dr. Michael Dixon, the college's registrar, social workers and other professionals who deal with victims of sexual abuse were also receiving numerous complaints about doctors. In many cases, said Dixon, the victims told social workers that they did not complain directly to college officials because they did not trust them. Said Dixon: "That's a very bad perception to have out there in the community."

In setting up the task force, the college's governing council was also responding to a number of highly publicized cases during the past year involving doctors accused of sexual abuse of patients. Dixon said that one incident involved a Toronto doctor accused of removing his pants and pressing a female patient's face against his groin. But a college discipline panel made up of four doctors and one layman came to the conclusion that there was insufficient evidence to convict the physician. The name of the doctor was never made public.

Women's groups also expressed outrage last year when Ontario divisional court judges either overturned convictions by college discipline panels or reduced the penalties. In one of four such cases, Abdullah Khan, a Toronto doctor, was convicted of molesting a three-year-old girl while the child's mother sat in the waiting room. Police investigators reported finding semen and saliva stains on the child's clothing. But the court ruled that the college's discipline panel had accepted inadmissible evidence and ordered a new hearing. However, a judge of an Ontario general division court later convicted Khan of sexual assault.

According to the task force report, sexual abuse cases that go before a college discipline panel, or reach the courts, represent only a tiny fraction of the actual number of incidents. The report said that during the past 11 years, only 27 cases were forwarded to a discipline panel after being investigated by a complaints committee. Thirteen of those cases were subsequently dismissed. But during its two-month investigation, the task force received more than 300 phone calls and nearly 100 letters, most of them from women who claimed to have been sexually abused by doctors. Of those, 174 reported "detailed, specific incidents of abuse."

In a chapter of the report entitled "Voices," the task force published graphic accounts of the sexual incidents involving doctors reported by 36 women and two men. One woman told the task force that her doctor had prescribed acupuncture for lower-back pain. She said that the doctor would masturbate while she had a needle in her back. Another woman said that she and her husband went to a psychiatrist to resolve a sexual problem. The psychiatrist eventually suggested individual therapy and, during his first session with the woman, he persuaded her to have sexual intercourse. A third woman said that she went to see her doctor about abdominal pain and that, during the examination, he tried to make her have an orgasm. The same doctor later asked her to remove her panties while examining a rash on her hip.

According to McPhedran, the women who related their experiences to the task force reported feeling both astonished and ashamed at what had happened. She said that many of the victims said that they found it difficult to believe their doctors would engage in such behavior. McPhedran added that in many cases, even family and friends doubted their stories, and that most of the victims felt that complaining to police or medical authorities would be pointless. The task force report concluded: "The clearest message we received from the public was that the college is a self-serving organization that protects doctors from members of the public."

In her testimony before the task force, Halliwell said that she could not convince college officials to look into her case. She said that she told her husband about her experiences with her doctor and that he questioned the psychiatrist about it. Halliwell said that the psychiatrist told her husband that she was being overly emotional because of her phobias, and may have been fantasizing. During a subsequent appointment, said Halliwell, the psychiatrist threatened to have her committed to a psychiatric hospital. She added that about three years ago, she complained to the college but was told that there was nothing the college could do because the doctor had moved to another province—and because she was the only person who had complained about him.

Besides recommending harsh penalties for physicians found guilty of sexual impropriety or abuse, the task force also made a number of sweeping proposals for eradicating sexual activity between doctors and patients. As part of their education, it said, doctors should be required to pass exams on women's issues, the nature and impact of sexual abuse, and methods of treating sexual abuse. The task force also recommended that Ontario's Health Disciplines Act be amended to make it mandatory for a doctor to report cases of sexual abuse by a colleague to the college. As well, the task force recommended that Premier Bob Rae's New Democratic Party government amend the act to make sexual abuse a recognized offence, in addition to the existing offence of sexual impropriety. The latter includes such things as demeaning comments, watching a patient undress or requesting a date, and can result in punishment ranging from a reprimand to a temporary suspension of a doctor's licence.

If the task force's recommendations are accepted, any doctors found guilty by the college of sexual abuse would automatically have their licences permanently revoked, although doctors could still appeal such decisions through the courts. Because sexual abuse is currently regarded as misconduct, along with a number of other offences, the college can impose a range of penalties from a reprimand to a permanent suspension of the doctor's licence, but the doctor has the right to continue practising while appealing his suspension. The task force suggested that abuse be defined as "sexual contact of any kind, whether initiated by the patient or not." McPhedran said that both doctors and patients "need a clear sense of where the line is drawn." If the task force's philosophy of "zero tolerance" is put into practice, there will be no forgiveness for doctors who cross that line.

D'ARCY JENISH



Halliwell (left) and McPhedran: many victims felt that complaining would be pointless

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HAL QUINN/MACLEAN'S

Greenpeace and Sierra Club guests in the forest: trying to reduce consumption

ENVIRONMENT

A clear-cut fight

B.C. logging becomes an international issue

Two couples danced in the shadows of the surrounding trees to music played on a concertina. Above the crackle of a bonfire the wind that blew off Kyuquot Sound carried the sound of laughter and fragments of animated conversations, spiced with American, Canadian, Finnish, German, Scottish and Swedish accents, from the 20 people sitting on logs around the fire. But the scene that unfolded last week on Spring Island, six miles from the village of Kyuquot on the northwest coast of British Columbia's Vancouver Island, did not involve carefree vacationers: the campers were there on business. As guests of two environmental organizations—Amsterdam-based Greenpeace and the Victoria-based Sierra Club of Western Canada—the politicians, journalists and environmentalists from Canada, the United States and Europe were taking part in a weeklong visit to study the effects of clear-cut logging on old-growth rain forests.

Greenpeace officials said that their objective was to turn a local campaign against the practice of clear-cutting in British Columbia's forests, in which loggers take every tree in a given area, into an international issue. Said Peter McAllister, director of the Sierra Club of Western Canada: "British Columbians have failed to stop the destruction of our ancient forests. We don't have any other choice. We must tell the rest of the world." The campaign by environmentalists, which has prompted concerns about an eventual European boycott of Canadian forest products, could not come at a worse time for the B.C. forest industry, which accounts for about 50 per cent of the manufactured goods exported from the province. Battered by the current recession, nearly all of the province's more than 100 forestry companies reported first-quarter losses this year. As a result, pulp mills are running at only 79-percent capacity, and more than 6,000 people have been laid off from a forestry-industry workforce that stood at 81,000 in 1990.

Now, U.S. and European environmentalists have begun to focus their attention on British Columbia, where logging companies often use clear-cutting techniques to level old-growth rain forests. In particular, the area around Kyuquot, where Vancouver-based International Forest Products Ltd. (Interfor) has clear-cut about 7,500 acres of forest during the past 15 years, has received widespread publicity. As a result, Fred Lowenberger, Interfor's chief forester, said that he spends much of his time explaining his firm's logging practices to environmental groups and journalists. Said Lowenberger: "We don't think that the rain forest is vanishing, as the environmental groups say. Admittedly, we are changing its age and its character. But clearly, this is a renewable resource that, if handled properly, will continue to provide benefits to British Columbia."

Greenpeace officials say that their goal is not to halt all logging or to promote a boycott of B.C. forestry products. David Peerla, Greenpeace's forests campaign coordinator, said that the organization's long-term aim is to preserve the primary forests, where some trees are more than 800 years old, by reducing the consumption of disposable paper products by consumers in the industrialized nations. The environmentalists also promote sustainable forestry methods, including small-scale, selective logging [illegible] horses instead of heavy, mechanized equipment. The B.C. forestry companies, including Interfor, defend clear-cutting as the safest and most economical logging method—and the most effective for promoting new growth. Said Lowenberger: "Our forefathers had practices that were massively worse than what we do, but still, in 60 years, the forests grew back abundantly. Now, we monitor soil depths, build roads not subject to landslides and do massive reforesting."

Still, the barren and ugly clear-cut areas and the pristine ancient forests that the visitors saw last week create lasting impressions. Jup Weber, a forester who is a Green party member of parliament in Luxembourg, said that his party, which advocates widespread environmental reforms, plans to organize a European media campaign "to show what is going on over here." He added: "We think it is possible that readers will force publishers to use only paper made from pulp that does not come from primary forests."

For his part, Thomas Clarke, a member of Britain's opposition Labour Party, said that he planned to raise the issue in Parliament and that he would encourage members of the European Parliament's health and environment committee to take up the issue of Canadian clear-cutting. Said Greenpeace's Peerla: "If a person blows their nose on a disposable tissue in Europe, we want them to know that they may be blowing away part of a temperate rain forest in B.C."

As the environmentalists' campaign to make Europeans more aware of controversial Canadian logging continues this summer, Greenpeace officials are preparing for a voyage this fall aboard the Rainbow Warrior, a converted fishing vessel named after an earlier Greenpeace ship that was destroyed by French agents in Auckland in 1985. With a film crew and a team of international forestry experts and ecologists on board, the ship will tour logging sites on British Columbia's north coast. The battle over the province's forests has been joined, and it may be played out for the rest of the world to see.

HAL QUINN *on Spring Island*

THEATRE

Funny-bone finesse

The Shaw Festival actors excel at comedy

At first glance, the play being performed on stage—a 1925 Ben Travers farce called *A Cuckoo in the Nest*—seemed as dated as flappers and rumble seats. Its jokes were tamely cute, its dramatic situation—two strangers, one male, the other female, forced to share the same hotel room—was hardly scandalous enough to be funny to contemporary viewers. Yet the audience was howling. Some peculiar sleight of hand had transformed the old-fashioned farce into a lens through which human frailty was brilliantly and hilariously magnified. Once again, the Shaw Festival, located in Niagara-on-the-Lake in southwestern Ontario, was doing what no other repertory company on the continent accomplishes so consistently: touching that mysterious place in the psyche that sets the diaphragm convulsing and the breath exploding in spasms of pleasure.

The festival's special talent for comedy shows up in all five new productions that recently opened the 30th-anniversary season (May 22 to Nov. 10)—from *The Doctor's Dilemma*, an acerbic 1906 medical satire by George Bernard Shaw, to *Lulu*, an unsettling examination of human passion adapted from two turn-of-the-century Frank Wedekind plays. Yet if the laughs are flowing, the situation behind the scenes is considerably more sobering. Only two weeks before the season opened, fire swept through a festival warehouse, destroying $1 million worth of rehearsal space and equipment.

The fire came at a hard time for the mostly self-supporting festival (private and government funds cover 25 per cent of its costs), which had already been struggling to roll back a $1-million deficit incurred largely in its disastrous 1989 season, when attendance dipped by seven per cent. Last year, improved box-office receipts resulted in a modest profit of $167,000 on the season—and contributed to a reduction of the deficit to $910,000. Surprisingly, the current recession has had only a minor impact on 1991 ticket sales, which are running only slightly behind last year's levels although admission prices increased slightly, to a range of $8 to $46.50.

Meanwhile, the festival continues to lavish a substantial portion of its budget, running at $10.6 million this year, on sets and costumes. And the acting company's morale seems to have weathered the poor financial situation. In recent interviews, several Shaw actors spoke enthusiastically about the art of comedy and the mystery of what makes some actors so funny. "I'm an odd shape. I'm a short young man," said Simon Bradbury, 30, the brilliant comedian who stars in *Cuckoo*. "And perhaps I have a certain facility—but it's nothing without technique." In *Cuckoo*, Bradbury revels in physical comedy: he somersaults backwards over chairs, gets entangled with a suitcase and



DAVID COOPER

McMillan (left), Skidmore in A Connecticut Yankee: *minor recessionary impact*

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comes perilously close to falling out of a second-storey window. It is hardly surprising that one of his idols is Charlie Chaplin, but he also studies theories of movement in order to develop flexibility and balance. It sounds complicated, but when it comes to playing a comic character, Bradbury says that he likes to keep his approach simple. "I don't like to wallow in the mud of psychological motives," he said. "The less clutter you have in your head, the more crisp and pert your performance."

While Bradbury hopes to play some non-comic roles in the future, Irene Hogan—also appearing in *Cuckoo*—has made a career out of portraying oddballs. Frequently adjusting her huge, rose-tinted glasses as she checked her reflection in a window, the middle-aged Hogan told the story of how artistic director Christopher Newton once disappointed her by assigning her a role that she felt had no comic potential. Hogan was so determined to get laughs that she added a mousy brown wig and tiny moustache to an already ludicrous costume. "I brought the house down without doing a thing," she gleefully recalled.

While Hogan is acutely aware of her comic impact, Robert Benson says that "only about 10 per cent of me is aware of the audience's reaction." The gentle giant of the company at six feet, four inches, the courtly, 56-year-old Benson—one of the standouts in *The Doctor's Dilemma*—claims that actors go into a state of altered consciousness when they perform. As proof, he points to his wire-rimmed spectacles. "Without these, I can't read," he said, "But if I have to read onstage, without glasses, I can see the print perfectly clearly."



DAVID COOPER

Newton: a rivetting Lulu

Another of the festival's veteran comedians, dour-faced George Dawson, 39, speaks of comedy as a kind of tonic. "Laughter expels old air from the lungs," he said. "It maintains elasticity in the rib cage. It probably releases no end of incredibly complex, health giving hormones throughout the brain and body." But Dawson, another *Cuckoo* cast member, also issued a warning. "I have trouble with the idea you have to piss yourself laughing all the time, like American television," he said. "Laughter is wonderful. But it can also be enormously cruel and damaging. Monsters laugh too. I'm sure Goebbels enjoyed a good chuckle."

His words could stand as a prologue to Newton's rivetting production of *Lulu*, which echoes with the cruel laughter of a predatory society. Set in late-19th-century Europe, the work focuses on a profoundly disturbed young dancer (Helen Taylor). Like a Ping-Pong ball, Lulu is all surface and no core. She lacks a moral sense, or any empathy with her fellow humans. She even has trouble believing that she exists—unless she is gazing into a mirror or receiving the attention of her many admirers. She goes through four husbands in the first act (all end up dead) and in the process stirs up enough immorality to fuel hell for a century.

If *Lulu* is the festival's most disturbing play, the effervescent *Cuckoo* is the lightest—although the brilliance of the cast's comic invention ensures that it is far from insubstantial. To watch Bradbury drape himself over a bar in a parody of relaxation, or Barry MacGregor sneak a drink behind the back of the actor playing his domineering wife, is to laugh at the eternal predicament of human beings compelled to pretend they are something they are not. Pretension also propels the long-winded medical debates that are the funniest and most successful scenes in *The Doctor's Dilemma*. As a clutch of early-19th-century doctors struggles to save the life of a tubercular artist (Steven Sutcliffe), they propound theories that are obvious nonsense, giving rise to an uneasy question: Is what medical science preaches now any more trustworthy?

The festival's current offerings also include Noel Coward's 1939 saga of a middle-class English family between the wars, *This Happy Breed*. The slow-moving, realistic drama lacks Coward's usual champagne wit as it follows the Gibbons family of Clapham Common through 20 years of domestic troubles and reconciliations. Yet it generates a certain cozy humor and affection for its characters, particularly the abrasive grandmother, Mrs. Flint, played exquisitely by Jennifer Phipps. On the whole, *This Happy Breed* is much more satisfying than the festival's revival of the 1943 musical *A Connecticut Yankee*, with its score by Richard Rodgers. Despite Karen Skidmore's barrelhouse singing, it rarely seems more than a dated celebration of U.S. popular culture as the streetwise sailor Martin (Richard McMillan) introduces the knights and ladies of Camelot to the wonders of Yankee slang and the automobile.

Two Shaw comedies, *The Millionairess* and *Press Cuttings*, open later in the season, along with Luigi Pirandello's absurdist play *Henry IV* and the Henrik Ibsen classic *Hedda Gabler*. Ibsen's tale of a tragically bored young housewife is not laugh material, but given the Shaw Festival company's unerring instinct for the funny bone, perhaps even the doomed Hedda will be permitted to raise a sympathetic smile.

JOHN BEMROSE *in Niagara-on-the-Lake*

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TELEVISION

A fond farewell

Donald Brittain's last film eyes CBC Radio

FAMILY: A LOVING LOOK AT CBC RADIO
(CBC TV, Tuesday, June 11, 8 p.m.)

The Victorian building in downtown Toronto was once a school for girls. And as narrator Robert Duncan describes it in the one-hour CBC TV documentary *Family: A Loving Look at CBC Radio*, the neighborhood "has seen better days." But it is from such humble surroundings that Canada's 55-year-old national radio network produces many of the popular shows—including *Morningside*, *As It Happens*, *Disc Drive* and *Ideas*—that it transmits daily to a total of four million loyal listeners. And it is there that acclaimed documentary-maker Donald Brittain, whose past films include *Henry Ford's America* (1976) and *The King Chronicles* (1987), trained an inquiring eye shortly before his death from cancer in 1989. Although at times it strains too hard to portray the daily radio grind as high drama, *Family* is a fascinating look at the people behind the voices behind CBC Radio.

Family is most effective when Brittain and narrator Duncan—who put the finishing touches on the film—let the camera roam over the unadorned workings of the network and its programs. Just putting a face to a familiar voice can be fascinating. Smooth-talking and suave as the co-host of *As It Happens*, Michael Enright looks distinctly owlish and professorial. And although Enright's on-air style is hard-driving and highly charged, his co-host, Alan Maitland, discloses that Enright routinely lingers over crossword puzzles as he interviews his subjects. Peter Gzowski's image as the benevolent chatterbox of morning radio, meanwhile, is also given a sharper edge.



BARZA/PUBLIPHOTO

Gzowski: sharper edge

surrounded by a half-dozen story producers desperately offering him ideas for upcoming shows, the usual host of *Morningside* takes on a decidedly grumpy demeanor.

But even as he works to unveil the mystique of the network's stars, Brittain clearly revels in the way that radio spins its magic—a magic that lies as much in what it conceals as in what it reveals. Short, plump Luba Goy, longtime fixture of the comedy troupe *The Royal Canadian Air Farce*, gives Brittain her own frank reasons for loving the medium. Says Goy: "On radio, I look like I'm 5-11 and have a body that can kill."

Family stalls only when Brittain dawdles unnecessarily on stories—both behind the scenes and on the air—that simply do not merit such attention. Protracted contract negotiations between Gzowski and a superior have all the drama of a weather report on a sunny day. And an extended sequence from *As It Happens*, in which Enright is mysteriously cut off while interviewing a government critic in strife-ridden Panama, seems unremarkable in the age of on-the-spot cable TV. At times a bit *too* loving, Brittain's final project is an eloquent homage to an enduring voice in Canadian broadcasting.

VICTOR DWYER

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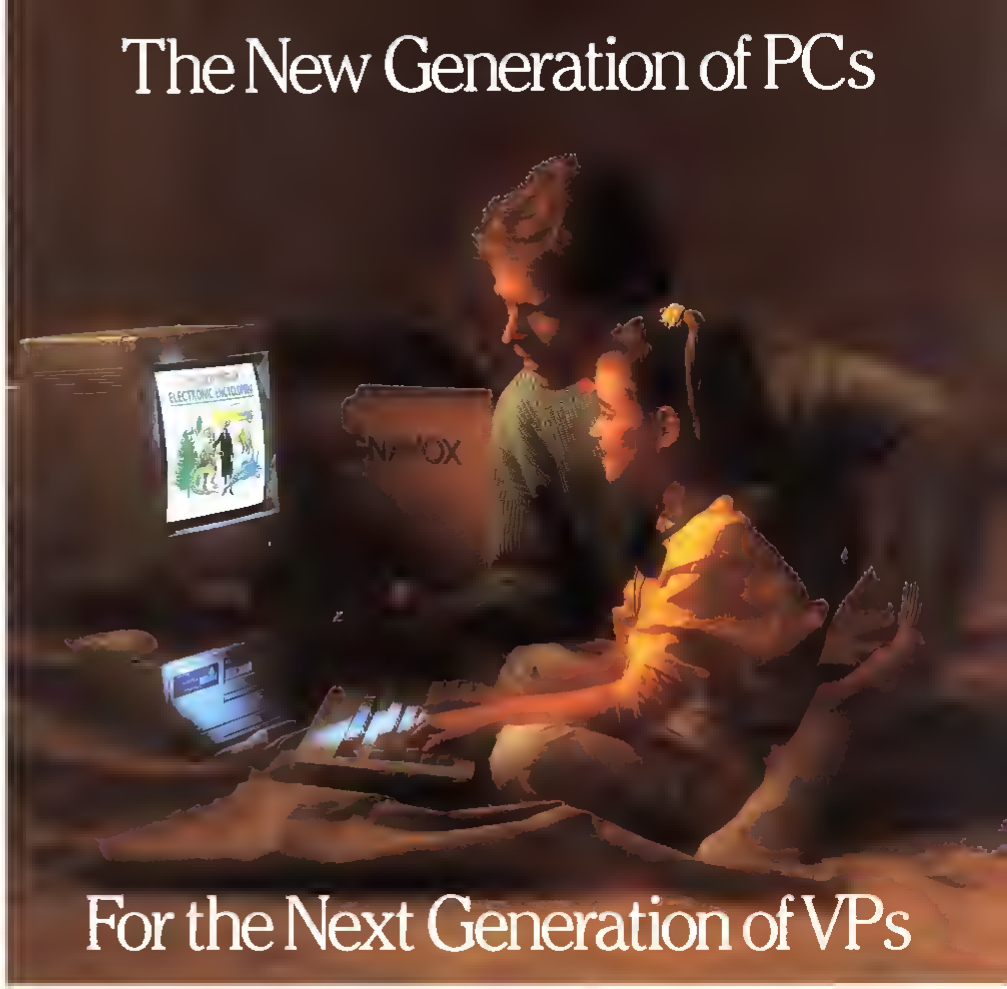
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A modern master

Halifax plays host to a musical giant

Halifax's Rebecca Cohn Auditorium is a popular spot. Located in the arts centre of Dalhousie University, the 1,100-seat hall is used for everything from convocations to bodybuilding competitions. But for now, the unpretentious wood-panelled auditorium is resounding with the music of one of the world's most celebrated contemporary composers and conductors. For the 12th annual Scotia Festival of Music, which opened on May 27 and runs until June 9, organizers persuaded France's Pierre Boulez to serve as music director. Last week, at the end of a five-city Canadian tour with his 31-member Ensemble InterContemporain, the Paris-based conductor and his musicians presented the first three concerts of the festival. Halifax Mayor Roo Wallace, who attended the opening-night performance, acknowledged that the ensemble's uncompromisingly modern repertoire was hardly standard fare in his city. "This is what they call the avant-garde, I guess," said the mayor. "It's a little ahead of us—but we'll catch up."

Indeed, audiences for the Ensemble InterContemporain concerts were small—but the applause was thunderous and sustained. Many in the audience were accomplished musicians themselves. Teaching sessions, or "master classes," by established artists attended by young professional musicians have always been a major component of the Scotia Festival. The current roster of guest performers includes Andrew Dawes, first violinist and founding member of the Toronto-based Orford String Quartet, and Charles Schlueter, principal trumpet of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. But attracting Boulez, 66—the man whom French flutist Jean-Pierre Rampal has described as "the greatest music mind of the 20th century"—was the festival's greatest coup. And because of Boulez's involvement, government and private-sector financing of the festival has soared. The 1991 budget, which includes funding for the Ensemble InterContemporain tour, has topped $1 million, compared with just $300,000 last year.

The last time Boulez conducted in Canada was in 1972, when he toured with the Cleveland Orchestra. And the Ensemble InterContemporain's May circuit of Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec City and Halifax was its first Canadian tour in its 16-year history. The ensemble returned to Paris late last week, but Boulez planned to remain in Halifax throughout the festival's two-week run, giving master classes and conducting the works of such early modern masters as Claude Debussy and Arnold Schönberg, as well as those by living Canadian and European composers. And as always, the music of such standbys as Beethoven and Brahms also figures prominently on the festival program. For Christopher Wilcox, the festival's managing director, persuading Boulez to participate has been an 11-year project. In 1980, Wilcox put Boulez on the festival's mailing list. Six years later, the conductor agreed to meet with Wilcox in Cleveland. During a second meeting, in Paris in 1987, Boulez announced that he would, in fact, take part in the 1991 festival.

Coming to terms with the music of this century, including Boulez's cerebral and often dissonant works, has never been easy for classically trained musicians, who are more familiar with Bach and Mozart. In one rehearsal last week, Boulez guided several eager but somewhat confounded musicians through *Messagesquisse*, his 1976 composition for solo cello accompanied by six other cellists. Written in honor of the 70th birthday of the Swiss conductor Paul Sacher, the agitated, fiendishly fast composition spells out Sacher's name in the rhythms of Morse code. Boulez, a stocky and formal-looking figure in a suit, put the musicians through their paces with a mixture of exacting precision and patient understanding. Just before taking a passage up to tempo for the first time, he advised the musicians: "Just swim—I will not stop." Retorted solo cellist Fred Sherry, the music director of the Chamber Music Society of the Lincoln Center in New York City: "I may have to stop." Everyone—the other, younger cellists and Boulez himself—laughed.



DAN CURTIS

Boulez: 'the greatest music mind of the 20th century'

Borrowing from Morse code and more recent technologies comes naturally to Boulez, who briefly contemplated an engineering career before devoting his life to music. "Very often in the music schools, contemporary music is neglected," he said in an interview, adding that he is attracted to such events as the Scotia Festival because of the strong emphasis on teaching. Born in Montbrison, France, in 1925, he began studying composition in Paris in 1942. With his 1955 composition *Le Marteau sans maître*—a work performed to great acclaim on the Canadian tour—he established himself as a leading young composer. A self-taught conductor, he began working with the Cleveland Orchestra in the mid-1960s, and in the 1970s he served simultaneously as the music director of the New York Philharmonic and the BBC Symphony Orchestra in London.

For their part, many Scotia Festival musicians say that they have found Boulez's ideas and enthusiasm inspiring. "What sounds at first like a muddle or a blur is suddenly made clear when you work with him," said Sophie Willer, a 21-year-old cellist from Vancouver who is now studying in Cleveland, and who was among those who performed *Messagesquisse* on May 31. And according to Wilcox, it is possible that Boulez will serve as an artistic adviser to the festival in coming years. Whatever happens, it is clear that this year, at least, Boulez has brought a bracing dash of modernism to Canadian music-making.

PAMELA YOUNG *in Halifax*

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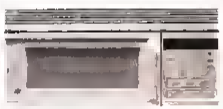


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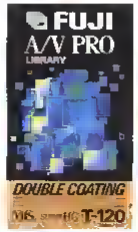
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FEL TEAD/CLAN-A-PRESS

Bennett (left), Hurtig: without government relief, there could be other casualties

PUBLISHING

Volumes of trouble

Mel Hurtig loses his publishing company

With mixed success, Edmonton's brash, beetle-browed Mel Hurtig has trumpeted the cause of Canadian nationalism for more than 20 years In 1970, he was among those who formed the Committee for an Independent Canada, which lobbied successfully against foreign control of the nation's culture and economy But a successor group he helped to create in 1985, the Council of Canadians, lost its campaign against the Canada-U S. Free Trade Agreement which came into force four years later In the 1972 federal election, Hurtig tried politics, running for the Liberals in Edmonton West, but was defeated He had better luck in 1985, when Edmonton-based Hurtig Publishers Ltd released the three-volume *Canadian Encyclopedia*, which sold 155,400 sets at $125 each in three months Tha company's five-volume *Junior Encyclopedia of Canada*, however, which came out last September, drove Hurtig to the wall Last week, the man who published best-selling books by authors such as Peter Gzowski announced the sale of his beleaguered firm to Toronto-based McClelland & Stewart Inc for an undisclosed sum But Hurtig vowed to pursue "my top priority, which is the survival of my country "

Hurtig, 58 blamed his company's ills in part on the policies of the federal government, which he has been warring against since Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Tories came to power in 1984 That view was shared by several book publishers across the country Karl Siegler, president of Vancouver's Talon Books Ltd , said that the recession, together with the GST, were the biggest problems confronting the country's book publishers Jacqueline Hushion, executive director of the Toronto-based Canadian Book Publishers' Council, noted that countrywide book sales had declined by up to 30 per cent from last year And Jack Stoddart chairman of Toronto's Stoddart Publishing Co Ltd , predicted that 10 or 12 of the more than 300 Canadian-owned book publishing companies would likely go out of business by year's end unless Ottawa introduced programs to help the industry compete with its wealthier foreign counterparts

Hurtig noted that his troubles with the *Junior Encyclopedia* were compounded by his timing, although he said that it would have been impossible to defer last fall's launch after devoting three years to researching, writing and printing 100,000 copies He borrowed $8 million of the project's estimated $12 5-million cost from the Bank of Montreal, and contributed $2 25 million of his own money Federal and private contributions made up the balance But the recession was well under way at the time of the unveiling, and only 35,000 sets were sold Hurtig said that he knew he was in serious trouble well before Christmas, "It was crisis after crisis," he recalled.

While Hurtig's company will disappear, its last major venture will survive. At a news conference last week, McClelland & Stewart president Avie Bennett said that his company which publishes Margaret Atwood's and Pierre Berton s books, will offer the 65,000 unsold sets of the *Junior Encyclopedia* next fall at a price lower than the original $189 95 Bennett praised Hurtig for having made "an indelible mark" on the nation by providing a reference work for young Canadians. But he added that unless the federal and provincial governments weighed in with substantial support for publishers, Hurtig would not be the last casualty

As for Hurtig, the son of Eastern European immigrants nationalism appears to have lost none of its appeal At the news conference with Bennett, he told reporters that he hoped to "play some part in making sure we get rid of the awful political leaders we have " He attacks the Tories in his first book, *The Betrayal of Canada*, which will be published by Stoddart this fall. Last week, Hurtig told *Maclean's*: "If there s one single problem with the enormous downturn of publishing in this country, it can be defined in five words Brian Mulroney and Michael Wilson In terms of the economy, never in my life have I seen such mismanagement combined with mismanagement of the national political scene. That is a very deadly combination " And for Mel Hurtig, the passionate nationalist, it is a very big target.

RAE CORELLI *with* VICTOR DWYER
in Toronto

Maclean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

1 **As the Crow Flies,** *Archer (1)*
2 **"H" is for Homicide,** *Grafton (3)*
3 **Immortality,** *Kundera (2)*
4 **Elephant Song,** *Smith (5)*
5 **The Seeress of Kell,** *Eddings (4)*
6 **A Soldier of the Great War,** *Helprin (7)*
7 **News from a Foreign Country Came,** *Mangnel*
8 **Loves Music, Loves to Dance,** *Clark*
9 **The Navel,** *Michener (8)*
10 **To Know a Woman,** *Oz (9)*

NONFICTION

1 **The Commanders,** *Woodward (2)*
2 **Iron John,** *Bly (1)*
3 **Woody Allen,** *Lax (4)*
4 **Churchill A Life,** *Gilbert*
5 **Workaholics,** *Killinger*
6 **Life After Death,** *Harpur (9)*
7 **You'll Never Eat Lunch in This Town Again,** *Phillips (5)*
8 **A History of the Arab Peoples,** *Hourani (6)*
9 **Bully for Brontosaurus,** *Gould (8)*
10 **Dead Certainties,** *Schama*

() Position last week

Compiled by Brian Bethune



Sorry, boss, no story here

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

What everyone needs, once a year, is a place on earth where you can't find out a single thing. Not a single thing going on anywhere. Especially for a news junkie. Especially. Zilch-o information. Zero.

The unexpected (and therefore welcome) blackout of information comes in an understandably ignored corner of France, snuggled up against the Pyrenees on the border of Spain. No Riviera bikinis here. No white villas overlooking the Mediterranean. It is the south of France all right, but the better for being ignored by the world.

We are talking isolation here, comfortable isolation. It is 30 minutes down the valley to that no doubt internationally famous village known as Estagel. The nearest neighbor, thank God, is several miles away. The nearest neighbor is never met.

There is no TV in the house. No one can figure out how to find the BBC overseas service on the small portable wireless. The radio in the Budget rent-a-car is broken. At last. Perfection. One could be on Mars. The news junkie is gelded, rendered immobile.

The mind goes into neutral. Has Jean Chrétien come up with another constitutional brain wave? Is there any result—and who cares?—of the battle between those two historical hockey hotbeds of Pittsburgh and Minnesota? We are glad not to know.

From the balcony, the vineyards stretch over reach and dale in every fold of the soft hills. This is the Roussillon, the slice of France that really belongs—as the faces indicate—more to Spain's Catalonia. This is the proper retreat for an assault on the Olympic Games next year, Barcelona just two hours away.

Next year, of course, is the year of Spain: the Summer Olympics (and Ben?) in that vibrant city by the sea, Expo 92 in Seville for six months and the cross-Atlantic celebrations on the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's little caper. They're already being called the Catalan Olympics, and the sailing and equestrian events may be on this side of the border, in what is nominally France.



The silence is wonderful. No news of the newest member of the Bob Rae cabinet who has resigned because of the discovery that his bicycle licence has expired. No news at all of the fate of the Blue Jays or the Expos. No news of the Chernobyl of Canadian politics, the Social Credit panic party on the Wet Coast.

High above on a mountain peak can be seen the remains of Queribus, a fortress of the Visigoths. A later lord of Queribus, the local literature reveals, was away in the Holy Land slaying the Infidel. Hannibal passed this way in 218 BC, on the way to the Alps—presumably with those damned elephants.

There are four dogs. Tommy is 7. Rustina is 12 and has just one eye, assailant unknown. Colleen is 3. Marguritte, who is 8, operates on three legs. They demand, each afternoon at five o'clock, a romp up the hills. A chap not known normally as a gardener becomes an expert in horticulture. (You can lead a whore to culture, as the man said, but you can't make her think.) There is thyme on the hillside. Rosemary. Myrtle. Not to mention their sisters. To a surprise, there are fig trees. Almonds. Olive trees. And a tiny flower called the scarlet pimpernel. Amazing what you learn when you stay away from the news.

It is just pure luck. Not a quote from Madonna in a fortnight. Dan Quayle does not exist. We cannot even find out the result of the FA Cup Final. It is very soothing. It is like being on Mars—ameliorated by the fact that someone pedals a bike down to the village of Maury each morning for the best bread ever invented.

Above all, each morning towers the Canigou, heavy with snow, 9,000 feet high in the Pyrenees. Hilaire Belloc called it "the mountain that men who have never seen it have been looking for all their lives." Lourdes, past Andorra, is just a few miracles away to the east.

The hostess, a miracle worker in the pantry, reintroduces that Catalan all-day wonder, the paella, full of shrimp, mussels, clams, lobster, sausage, chicken, veal, peas and maybe a little rice. In Tautavel, where old men sit all day in the village square with canes and cloth caps and faces crying for a Karsh camera, archeologists in 1971 found a skull that was 450,000 years old. A plaque in the square notes, modestly, "450,000 years of life in the sun"—as can be seen by those faces.

It's amazing what can be found when a newspaper can't be found. The Greeks planted the first vines here. The grapes, now in May, as the remains of the mistral sweep down the mountains, are the size of BB-gun pellets, on their way, fat and lush with sugar by October plucking. The Moors were here in 800. In 1659, this Catalan redoubt became part of France. In the Abbey of St. Michel de Cuxa, dating from 840, there is a music festival each summer in honor of the memory of Pablo Casals, who took his cello to nearby Prades, in protest of Franco, as Picasso likewise withheld his genius from Spain for the same reason. Among the chain-smoking schoolchildren on the mandatory tour of the abbey, a young lout is wearing a silver-and-black jacket with "Los Angeles Raider" on the back. Can't even get the plural right.

Incessant, every morning, is the sound of the cuckoo. Vultures and eagles soar overhead. Wild boars roam the hills—and show up in the restaurants that are only two mountains and 47 twisty turns away. John, with a face that is so craggy as to be irresistible, arrives down from London with a flame of 30 years ago. Helen, who used to sing grand opera, now sells vineyards with Jacques. No one asks who won the Stanley Cup. All is well with the world.

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